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Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-186
Tuesday
25 September 1990

Daily Report
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NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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USSR Wants Large Amount of Pact's Weapons

LD2209183390 Prague CTK in English 1732 GMT 22 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 22 (CTK)—A two-day meeting of the Warsaw Pact special commission for disarmament at the level of deputy foreign ministers and chiefs of general staff started here today.

The Czechoslovak delegation is led by First Deputy Foreign Minister Robert Harencar and chief of the General Staff, First Deputy Defence Minister Anton Slimak.

The participants will discuss the questions connected with the division of the Pact's weapons if a treaty on conventional forces in Europe in Vienna is signed. The session of the commission in Bratislava on September 10-11 ended without any concrete results. The Czechoslovak representatives claimed after the meeting that the Soviet Union wants to keep an unadequately high part of the Pact's contingent.

The session focused on solving two major questions—the setting of the level of sufficiency and of the maximum level of weaponry one state can keep.

Also discussed were new approaches to solving controversial questions concerning excessive demands of several states. In an attempt to help reach agreement, the Czechoslovak side came with compromise proposals which were on the whole taken into consideration.

Envoy Views European Disarmament Problems

LD2309102590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0630 GMT 23 Sep 90

[Interview with Istvan Gyarmati, head of the delegation to the NATO-Warsaw Pact disarmament talks in Vienna, by Istvan Kulcsar; date not given—recorded; from the "World Clock" program]

[Text] [Kulcsar] Mr. Ambassador, it is said that the Vienna talks on military force cuts, the discussions of the 23, have come to a dead end.

[Gyarmati] That is true; that corresponds to the facts. No progress has been made on the issues that are decisive, from the point of view of the talks' success, for about two to two and a half months. I would mention first of all that we could not manage to make progress in solving the problem of the degree to which a country must reduce its forces in Europe. Right now this means only the forces of the Soviet Union, according to the sense of it.

[Kulcsar] As I know, Hungary has recently submitted a proposal with Czechoslovakia. What is its essence?

[Gyarmati] I would like to stress that a compromise proposal was made saying that this level, that is the level of forces that can be kept in one country in Europe, should be reduced by one-third in the 23 countries, or rather the 22, when the treaty is signed. In relation to the Soviet Union, this would mean that within the Warsaw Pact the Soviet Union would possess two-thirds of the forces of the six countries. We reckon that that would be largely enough for the implementation of the political objectives the Soviet political leadership acknowledges.

[Kulcsar] You mean enough for defense?

[Gyarmati] Yes, for it is a basic military rule that defense requires less force than attack. Thus, if someone possesses one-third of the forces in Europe it makes defense possible even—hypothetically—against all European countries. Politically, however, any such threat against the Soviet Union is out of the question.

[Kulcsar] What would this mean from our point of view? How many armored vehicles could Hungary have, compared to the present?

[Gyarmati] Fewer than the present number, by all means. Hungary has more than 1,500 tanks. This has no reality in either the military, political, or even economic sense. I think that the level of the Hungarian military forces should be set so that we could keep some 900-1,000 tanks; I should add that physically this will not be possible in the near future, as we already have fewer than 900 effective tanks.

[Kulcsar] What would this mean in relation to our neighbors, since they are at present also members of the Warsaw Pact, that is, they have obligations to it, too?

[Gyarmati] We have to accept, whether we like it or not, that these countries are much bigger than Hungary, and for this reason their military force will be bigger, too. Our aim in this treaty is to regulate the relations of our forces and those of our neighbors in such a way that none of those countries' military forces could mean a threat to Hungary.

[Kulcsar] Mr. Ambassador, from what you say it seems that on the one hand, the smaller countries of the present Warsaw Pact would be safe, and on the other hand, the Soviet Union should not feel threatened by the West. In contrast to this, the agreement in Vienna has been delayed. What is the main reason for this?

[Gyarmati] I think that Soviet internal policy does not make it possible for the political and military leadership to come to an agreement on what objectives to follow in Europe. I think that the political objective, integration into Europe, and the military objective reflected in the demand in Vienna, the preservation of the Soviet Union's military dominance in Europe, are incompatible. The Soviet Union will have to decide which of the two goals to choose. If they choose the first, then there will be an agreement and a new European security system will come into existence; if they choose the second, then there will possibly be no agreement and then the countries of Europe, among them Hungary, will have to find other guarantees for security.

Alia Leaves for UN General Assembly in New York

AU2409183690 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, left for New York today to take part in the proceedings of the 45th session of the UN General Assembly and the World Meeting on Children's (?Welfare), at which many heads of state from throughout the world will be present. He is accompanied by Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs, and Professor Sofokli Lazri, director of the Institute for the Study of International Relations.

He was seen off at Rinas Airport by Comrades Adil Carcani, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Kico Mustaqi, Pali Miska, Simon Stefani, Xhelil Gjoni, Llambi Gegprifti, Niko Gjyzari, Pirro Kondi, Qirjako Mihali, and Abdyl Backa; Nexhmije Hoxha, chairman of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania; Rita Marko and Xhafer Spahiu, deputy presidents of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; members of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the government; representatives of the veterans; deputies; leaders of the mass organizations; directors of educational, health, and academic institutions; and young people. Comrade Ramiz met all those present at the airport, who wished him a good journey and saw him off with love.

Just before his departure to take part in the meeting of the UN General Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia declared to journalists: I wish to greet our people, all working people, the workers class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, men, women, and the young people of our country. I wish all our children good health and success in their work. May all good things come to you, and may you achieve fresh successes to the benefit of our socialist homeland.

Balkan Cooperation Delegation Leaves for Bulgaria

AU2409120590 Tirana ATA in English 0916 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Tirana, September 24 (ATA)—At the invitation of the Bulgarian Committee for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation, a delegation of the Albanian Committee for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation, headed by the chairman of this committee, Prof. Dhimiter Shuteriqi left for Sofia on September 23. The delegation will exchange opinions with the Bulgarian party for the extension of relations between the two committees and the contribution they should make in the future to forge ahead the process of Balkan cooperation.

Albania Attends CSCE Meeting as Observer

AU2509115490 Tirana ATA in English 0921 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Tirana, September 25 (ATA)—The CSCE meeting on the Mediterranean, which will discuss questions having to do with the security and cooperation in this region, opened in Palma de Majorca of Spain on September 24. It will extensively discuss on questions of ecology of the Mediterranean.

Attending this meeting is also our country as observer with a delegation headed by the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania in Cairo, Alkyz Cerga.

Party Condemns Arrest of Kosovo Delegates

AU2409192990 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 19 Sep 90 p 1

[ATA report: "The Democratic Front Condemns the Arrest of the Kosovo Assembly Delegates"]

[Text] Our public is following with great concern the course of events in Kosovo, where the situation is assuming increasingly dramatic dimensions. In fact, Kosovo is under a state of occupation. Its elected bodies have been dissolved by force. Its press, radio, and television in Albanian, spoken by 90 percent of the population, have been banned.

This escalation of violence has led to an unprecedented act in the last few days in the criminal prosecution of delegates of the Kosovo Assembly. The deputies were arrested after this legislative body approved the new Kosovo constitution. They are accused of "attempting to destroy Yugoslavia's integrity," and their decision has been considered illegal by the Serbian authorities.

The Serbian authorities' allegations against the representatives of the Kosovo people do not hold water. The decision of the Kosovo Assembly is entirely legal. The delegates to this assembly carried out their normal functions, of which only the people who elected them can deprive them. It was the assembly's dissolution which was illegal. Under the SFRY Constitution, the population of Kosovo has the right to demand and decide their laws and the form of government which they think is most fit.

The Serbian authorities' persistent violations of the fundamental rights and freedoms of the Albanian population of Kosovo have further embittered the situation and have further complicated interethnic relations. Since 1981, history has shown that violence and terror cannot solve a single problem in Kosovo. The only just and effective way is that of democracy, dialogue, and understanding with the Albanians.

The Albanian Democratic Front, as the Albanian people's largest mass organization, expresses its indignation and protest against the brutal and inhuman treatment of the Albanian population of Kosovo by the Serbian authorities, and once again demands an end to the barbaric repression against them. It is the inalienable right of the people of Kosovo to decide their own political future. Wise and courageous steps to ensure their equal representation within the Yugoslav Federation or confederation are entirely normal, and in accordance with the standards of a civilized society.

Understanding of Democratization Urged

AU2109083890 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 15 Sep 90 p 2

[Article by Servet Pellumbi, doctor of sciences: "Deepening Democracy—A Necessity for our Development"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] It is not by chance that, in the comprehensive work done by all our people under the party's leadership, plenty of new processes and developments have arisen which have significantly invigorated social and political life, have accelerated the pace of the country's development, and also accelerated the emancipation of our people. Rapid changes have become commonplace. As soon as one new law or principle is introduced, as soon as the principle of democratic election is affirmed in practice, and even before debate and discussion have ended, one must embark on a new and more profound topic. In such a period of quantitative leaps, the dialectic of life "does not leave you much time" for daydreaming or vacuous talk, because one has to go into action fast and in a considered way.

It is understandable that such processes and such a pace put people's abilities and convictions to the test and increase demands on subjective factors, because practice always demands clear guidelines and a realistic dissemination of the valuable experience which is gained. Even theoretical concepts and theses face harsh tests. Not everyone becomes immediately aware of the responsibilities and tasks that such periods of intensive development demand. Innovations are accompanied by enthusiasm, but also by amazement and reservation, and why not for some people even by fear and distrust? Therefore, people can behave in very different ways. It is not surprising that there are some who cling to old ways, who are slow in understanding the measures, laws, and decisions made as the process of democratization deepens, and who ask, as if dumbfounded, "What is happening?" There may also be people who want even more radical change in a single day ("by noon if possible")!

Even though such responses are to be expected at this stage, they show that this is not an easy process, and it is not going and cannot go as smoothly as a knife goes through butter. As the 10th Central Committee plenum stressed, the present deepening of democracy is the second cycle of a process begun in the seventies, which shows that what is happening now is not entirely new or unfamiliar to our working masses. There is a primary need, therefore, for joint activity in order to identify the most effective ways and means to deepen democracy, as opportunities arise, on a broad front, following priorities, and in no sense in the form of a campaign.

Despite the special features of this "second cycle," its inseparable ties with new economic developments, the new economic mechanism, and the situation at home and abroad—especially the "sensational" changes that took place in Eastern Europe—the accumulated objective and subjective difficulties and obstacles and today's efforts of the class enemy to exploit our changes to undermine the situation, etc. also give new dimensions to the practical aspects of democratization. All of this makes more intensive theoretical and educational work necessary. [passage omitted]

It cannot be said, however, that these processes of the dialectical development of our socialist democracy are properly understood by those who imagine it to be a spontaneous expression of desires and subjective demands, demands which sometimes assume the form of claims for higher wages and a lower retirement age regardless of the real level of our economic development, the quantity and quality of our work, and so forth. In other cases, there are confused or argumentative people, who wish to speculate with the democratic forms we are developing, the measures taken to stimulate the personal sector of the cooperativists, or the law on private trades and handicrafts, extrapolating them into demands to dismember the cooperatives and to unearth the old title deeds, demands to pave the way for the privatization of the whole economy, "loans," and "ready-made" forms of democracy which the outside world serves up in plenty.

The initiative and self-motivation of the masses are the inspiration of socialist democracy, and must undoubtedly be stimulated and encouraged, but it is no less important to lead the masses and make them aware, so that they see rights tied to duties, freedom to discipline, democracy to centralism, and greater prosperity tied to the strengthening of the socialist economy and to our labor and sweat.

The narrow and biased conceptions of the democratizing process which are evident, though not widespread, show that even certain communists and cadres were caught unaware by this process.

In some other cases, "lack of preparedness" takes the form of metaphysical "either-or" reasoning: either democracy or the class war, seeing the two as mutually exclusive alternatives. As a result, the correct idea of the ninth Central Committee plenum, according to which the ideo-political attitude of a person's family is important, "but the character and the personality of the person himself is of decisive importance"; the freedom extended to private trade; the new kinds of economic ties with foreign firms; and the new kinds of property which will be created are interpreted as an abandonment of the class war, while democracy is interpreted as a radical change in social relations which can only limit and restrict the class war, and so forth. In fact, the class war is part of the motive power of democracy, while democracy plays the role of a basic political condition for the correct conduct of the class war, as, for instance, in the struggle against the bureaucracy which is one of the most dangerous diseases of socialism.

'Illusions, Mistaken Ideas' Among Rural Youth

AU2109174690 Tirana ZERI I RINISE in Albanian 15 Sep 90 pp 1-2

[ZERI I RINISE correspondent's report: "National Aktiv of Cooperativist Youth"]

[Excerpts] The Central Committee of the Albanian Union of Working Youth organized a national aktiv of cooperativist youth in one of the halls of the Higher Agricultural Institute on Wednesday [12 Sep].

Officials from the district youth committees, the youth committees in agricultural cooperatives, young men and women from the cooperatives, students from the Higher Agricultural Institute, and youth organization activists took part in the aktiv.

Rrapo Zguri, secretary to the Albanian Union of Working Youth Central Committee, delivered a report entitled "Promptly Confronting the Youth Organization's Problems in the Countryside With Skill and Militancy."

Comrade Rrapo Zguri stressed in his report that it is a fact that our peasants have approached the processes of the further democratization and revolutionization of the country's life with particular dedication and intensity of emotion. [passage omitted]

There has been no lack of signs of problems in the countryside recently. We think that their principal cause lies in the fact that party, state, and youth organizations have been content to implement decisions mechanically, hoping that everything will be solved automatically by the distribution of livestock and two-dunum plots [Ottoman land measurement: 1 dunum = 0.1 hectare]. Euphoria, lack of precise and specific work, and inadequate explanation of the decisions of the party and state have left room for confusion, misunderstanding, illusions, and mistaken ideas in the countryside.

One of the negative tendencies noticeable in some parts of the country during the recent distribution of two-dunum plots for personal use has been a tendency to revert to the former pre-collectivization property boundaries. Youth agitators, supporting the entire work of the party with arguments and realism, can and must explain that these property boundaries belong to obsolete kinds of thinking and behavior, and are a factor of division, not unity. Moreover, young people and their youth organization could contribute much more to elucidating the decision of the party Central Committee Politburo to increase personal plots and the necessity and purpose of this step, directly helping toward a just, principled, and concrete implementation of this measure. [passage omitted]

Fruit, Vegetable Shortages in Tirana Reported

AU2509084990 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 20 Sep 90 pp 1-2

["ZERI I POPULLIT Press Brigade" report: "Shortages on the Tirana Fruit and Vegetable Market"]

[Excerpts] We have experienced a drought. We have also noticed the dedication of working people in agriculture in coping with it, and their pledges to limit its harm. Nevertheless, the consequences of the shortages have been significant and various. We are not going to analyze this, because agriculture "sows" and "reaps," and we can feel and see the results of this daily work in the shop windows. We notice that....

1. What Do Customers Say?

Let us start at the end of the process, because, after all, both producers and the retail sector as a "go-between" have the same goal: meeting the people's needs. We are in September, however, at the peak of the season and at the best time for fruit, yet fruit is at its lowest on the market. We met customers in the New Bazaar at 0930. We walked through the long hall lined with stalls on both sides. A disturbing emptiness. There are shortages of fruit, potatoes, and tomatoes; okra, aubergines, etc. have become "delicacies!" There are no grapes on sale; they are sold out. Two days ago, a single sales assistant was selling grapes at the stand outside the china factory. There was a long line of customers.

"Could not several salesman sell what grapes there are?"

"The official from the Farke sector said in a television interview that there are plenty of grapes. Why are they not on the market?"

"When I cannot find grapes on the market, I have to buy them privately at five leks per kilo."

"Grapes are being sold in crates directly from the truck at the Trading Enterprise Store No. 2 on Ferid Xhajko Street...."

"Go late in the evening to some fruit and vegetable stores and have a look! You will see people with wheelbarrows and so forth being "supplied" with grapes at the back door. They distill raki [a grape spirit] in their apartments and gardens. What can be done with these wheeler-dealers who empty the store shelves?!"

Such conversations with customers indicate shortcomings in the work of working people in the trade sector. [passage omitted]

2. The State of the Market

We received the following report from Agim Bega, specialist in the Supply Section of the Executive Committee of the District People's Council:

"The market was stable for a seven-month period. There were almost no shortages at all. Even now, there is no worry about eggs. Reserves are guaranteed for the winter, but there have been fruit and vegetable problems in August and September. There have been more problems than usual this year, but the drought alone is not to blame. The worst thing is that the prospects for the future are not good. Tirana cannot meet the demands for potatoes, apples, etc., solely from the production of the district, still less when this year's drought has done its worst. Supplies of grapes, potatoes, and onions from the district's own producers will amount to only 40-50 percent of the plan. Under these conditions, it is necessary to look beyond the district, but there are shortages even there. Kruje and Lezhe are offering us only 22.5 percent of their 24,600 quintals of potatoes. Korce is only offering 40 percent. The agricultural enterprises of Korce are offering us only 1,700 quintals of a planned 14,500 quintals of apples. Under the plan, trading enterprises are supposed to supply most of our apples, but every year we receive no more than 60 percent of the quantities planned."

"What about the last three months of the year?"

"We have stored about 2,000 quintals of vegetables, 600 quintals of grapes, and 500 quintals of plums. We are working on fresh onions, spinach, cabbage, brussels sprouts, and leeks, and we can expect a normal supply."

"Is the quantity of grapes on the market so small as to lead to these shortages?"

"We must admit that we have not worked well in the retail sector. We need more discipline, control, and accountability down to the store level in order to stop wholesale sales when supplies do not meet the plan or the demand."

3. What Do Producers Say?

The graphs of the retail sector and the agricultural enterprises were compared in the Agricultural Department of Region No. 4 the day before yesterday. We talked to the chief agronomist Zyber Memeti and the vegetable specialist Asllan Budlla.

"We harvest grapes according to demand. In the first 10 days of September, we harvested about 900 quintals a day, 700 quintals on 11 September, and 1074 quintals on 12 September."

"How much of this was for industry and export?"

"We harvested 1,679 quintals for export, and 5,700 quintals for industry, out of a planned 50,000 quintals."

"Why is the production level so low?"

"The drought had its effect, but poor work was no less to blame." [passage omitted]

4. In Conclusion

1. As they say, the drought had its effect. Production was not secured. One must perhaps consider in this context the disruption of vegetable supply from the Tirana agricultural enterprises and the lowland cooperatives' "initiative" for vegetables. Accounts must be drawn up better, so that Tirana will be supplied with vegetables from its own agricultural economy, whether the agricultural enterprises or the cooperatives. It seems unreasonable to us that fuel should be used to transport tomatoes and watermelons from other districts, when this fuel consumption means that the machinery used in the Tirana vegetable harvest stands idle. It also shows a lack of responsibility and seriousness on the part of Tirana if the district—despite all its vineyards and scientific experience, including the relevant institute—leaves the market, and still worse industry and refrigeration plants, bare of fruit and grapes. When? In September.

2. The observations we have made show that there is often disorganization on the market, a lack of awareness of the situation, slackness, and casualness. [passage omitted]

3. When there are production shortfalls and shortages on the state market, speculators crop up. It is regrettable that many private traders profit under our very noses from market shortages. There are crowds of them selling on street corners, even with the required "licenses," but the produce they sell is from the orchards and vineyards of the collectives. As some individual customers said to us, perhaps limits should be set for private sales, because we saw people selling sackfuls of melons that were not produced in their personal gardens. [passage omitted]

Lilov Reelected BSP Chairman in Secret Ballot

Receives 833 of 1299 Votes

AU2509093590 Sofia BTA in English 0913 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, 25 Sep (BTA)—Mr. Aleksandur Lilov was reelected chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], it was announced at the morning session of the BSP Congress after the nightly secret ballot voting.

Of a total of 1,299 delegates present and voting, 833 voted for Mr. Lilov and 462 voted against him. There were four invalid ballot-papers.

The congress greeted the news of Mr. Lilov's victory with applause and chants of "BSP, BSP."

Mr. Lilov's principal rival, Mr. Aleksandur Tomov, the leader of the ideological Movement for Democratic Socialism (Demos), collected 286 votes.

The third candidate, Mr. Dimitur Yonchev, spokesman for the BSP Supreme Council, received 180 votes.

Lilov Heralds Party Unity

AU2509112490 Sofia BTA in English 1035 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, 25 Sep (BTA)—None of the leaders of the reformist ideological tendencies was elected to the 151-member BSP Supreme Council.

In his closing speech Mr. Aleksandur Lilov voiced concern over this possibly Pyrrhic victory. This alarming fact, in his view, is a symptom of a "hardening" of the party, of the strengthening of the conservative tendencies despite the massive influx of new people in the council.

He characterized the congress as "difficult but successful" and singled out the great importance of the package of measures, adopted after a stormy and, at times, fierce debate, a package which determined the party's strategy and tactics in the extremely difficult conditions of the crisis in Bulgaria.

Mr. Lilov said that the greatest success of the congress was that, contrary to the opposition's expectations, the Socialists did not split at it.

Obviously, however, it is precisely the possibility of such a split that is the gravest concern for the Socialists' leader who stressed the need for "all Socialists to join hands" and "to keep working for the renewal and the unity of the party on the basis of the plurality of opinions, ideas and platforms."

Reportage of BSP Congress Proceedings Continues

Collective Guilt, Depolitization Viewed

AU2209192890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 22 Sep 90

[Excerpts] The 39th regular BSP Congress opened this morning in the congress hall of the BSP Building. After the agenda had been approved by vote, Aleksandur Lilov delivered a political report. [passage omitted]

At the afternoon session, the party Ethics Commission presented its accountability report, which was delivered by Ivan Zarchev, the commission's chairman. He reported that so far 14 party functionaries from Todor Zhivkov's inner circle have been asked to account for their moral and political responsibility. We will not permit a witch hunt, slander, or attempts at calumny, it was stressed in the report of the party Ethics Commission, which was sharply attacked by many of the delegates who spoke. A proposal was made for this report to not be adopted.

The delegates also heard the accountability report of the Central Finance and Auditing Commission. The value of the buildings owned by the BSP on 31 December 1989 was assessed as 296 million leva, but on 31 August 1990 their value was 191 million leva [after the burning of the party building on 26-27 August].

The congress continued with more speeches. The delegates showed their extreme lack of tolerance of empty phrases, familiar cliches, and by clapping slowly forced speakers employing such techniques to leave the platform. Here are some of the issues which were raised in the speeches: Are any discredited persons in the hall? How long will we tolerate corrupt cadres in the provinces? Have we told the whole truth about the party, society, and the country's economic condition? Who is against depoliticizing the Army, Ministry of Internal Affairs, the courts, and the prosecuting service? Has the Supreme Party Council and the Presidency truly renewed itself? How is it that members of the Presidency have remained deputies in the Grand National Assembly? Why did the people of Sofia and the other large towns cast blue ballots for the opposition during the parliamentary elections?

The discussion was especially heated on the subject of the presidential crisis. In response to interpellations and questions addressed to him, Petur Mladenov replied that the video film broadcast by the election studio of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] contained a montage, and that the the phrase in question was taken out of context.

The BSP Congress unanimously adopted a resolution to instruct the BSP parliamentary group in the Grand National Assembly to insist on the formation of an inquiry commission to investigate the incident.

On behalf of Alternative Socialist Association [ASO], a faction of the BSP, a declaration was proposed on the party's guilt toward the Bulgarian people. Many of the speeches were devoted to the subject of the shift of our political life to the right, which the speeches concerning the issue of the fate of the BSP may be summarized thus: We are not for a split.

The congress began its evening session at 2000 [1700 GMT] with more speeches.

Platform Stresses Move to Democracy

AU2409195290 Sofia BTA in English 1755 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, 24 Sep (BTA)—The Thirty-Ninth Congress of the Bulgarian Socialist Party will elect a chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, while the council will elect its Presidium as before.

That was decided [words indistinct] voted down the previous procedure, laid down in the draft rules, whereby the Supreme Council elected the Socialists' leader.

Other substantive amendments to the draft were the restriction of the right of the factions to take part in [words indistinct] collective membership in the BSP, etc.

The delegates endorsed the BSP platform which lists as the party's top priority the implementation of a peaceful transition from a totalitarian to a democratic society. Democratic socialism is the ideological and political characteristic of the platform. Democratic socialism is based on the liberty of the individual and of the entire people, on justice, equal opportunities, the elimination of any discrimination against separate individuals and social groups, and on solidarity.

The platform points out that the BSP is a parliamentary but also a mass party. Its power base constitutes the people of industrial, agricultural and intellectual labor. The party will be structured on a territorial basis, and its primary branches will be on the residential basis.

The platform says that the party should be purged of corrupt and discredited functionaries and that all governing bodies should be rejuvenated.

In an address to the Socialists, the supporters and all Bulgarians, the 39th Congress claims full political responsibility for the past but rejects the idea of a "collective guilt" of all Socialists because "guilt is always specific and the culprits are always specific," as the document says.

It condemns all appeals and actions aimed at violence which will destroy for decades the roads to national reconciliation and salvation. "The only way out is to learn to live together, to learn to tolerate and respect people holding views opposite to ours," the address says.

Bulgaria faces an alternative: Order or chaos, rescue or catastrophe, civil peace or civil war, according to the Socialists who call on the Bulgarians to rally behind the perennial values of peace, order and salvation.

Party Leadership Reduced

AU2409204290 Sofia BTA in English 1939 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, 24 Sep (BTA)—"Dawn will probably find us with a chairman, no more," Mr. Dimitur Yonchev, a member of the incumbent leadership, told a news conference at 5 p.m.

Tomorrow the nominees for the chairmanship will hardly present their platforms because, Mr. Filip Bokov believes, "they will be sufficiently well known and there will be simply no need of that."

Last night the preliminary list of the new leadership was cut from 400 to 200, Mr. Bokov went on to say. The list had to be cut because each region wanted to have as many representatives as possible. Further nominations will be possible when the election begins this evening. The new BSP Supreme Council will have 150 members unless delegates suggest changes to this number. Ninety per cent of the people on this preliminary list never attended a party congress before, and only three were over 60 "to keep the link between the generations," according to Mr. Bokov.

Radicals account for 30 per cent of that preliminary list, and "this does not correspond to their real position in the party," Mr. Bokov said. Still, the final say will be to the delegates. Before the closed session at which the election will begin, the radicals convened at a meeting.

The Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov is on the list, too. "In some countries the leader of the ruling party is prime minister," Mr. Bokov emphasized.

The Socialists' 39th Congress is a working congress, Mr. Bokov and Mr. Yonchev said when asked to comment on the fact that the delegates were greeted only by the CPSU.

Lukanov Discusses Reasons Coalition Not Formed

AU2409155790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 21 Sep 90 pp 1,3

[Interview with Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov by Dimitrana Aleksandrova and Plamen Enchev, in Sofia on 20 September: "Why No Coalition Government Was Formed"]

[Text] All members of the government proposed by Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov, except three persons without any party affiliation, are members of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. How was this cabinet formed? How did it happen that instead of a government of national consensus and a program cabinet, the present single-party Council of Ministers was formed?

On 20 September, during one of the breaks in the Grand National Assembly session, the new-old chairman of the Council of Ministers explained his views on those questions.

[DUMA] Could you tell us about the consultations on forming the new cabinet?

[Lukanov] There were three stages in the consultations. The first stage consisted of a joint meeting of the basic political forces represented in parliament, organized at my initiative by the president. At this meeting, I presented in general lines my views about the character of a national government. The idea was born then to base the government on a program, adopted by parliamentary consensus. I personally see sufficient common factors in the political platforms of the basic political forces, as well as sufficiently coordinated elements of the roundtable documents, which led me to believe that the preparation of a program acceptable to parliament, would not be an impossible task. At that first meeting, I gave my opinion about the participation of persons from the various sides of the political map, without directly and formally committing their parties. The idea was that they would represent political pluralism in the government and thus make the government more representative.

[DUMA] How do you define the concept of coalition?

[Lukanov] I understand the concept of coalition as a formal political union among political forces, who are committed to common action, something which deprives them of the possibility to oppose each other. While this formula, which I presented at the meeting, does not deprive any political force of its image or political originality, it allows for the possibility of opposing other political forces in parliament and opposing the government itself. Many participants took the floor on this issue and a broad debate developed. I left the meeting if not as an optimist, then at least with the feeling that the task of forming such a government is not an illusion, and that there are certain preconditions of success.

[DUMA] When did this meeting take place and what happened afterward?

[Lukanov] The meeting took place on Saturday, 1 September, one day after I was entrusted with the task of forming the government. Afterward the second stage began, namely, individual meetings with political leaders and individual experts and specialists. I invited some of them to participate in the government, and listened to the opinions of the others. Despite the fact that this period coincided with the parliamentary recess, I succeeded to conduct those consultations. Different opinions emerged at the consultations. Thus, I obtained the categorical agreement of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS] to participate in the government, under the condition that other forces, in addition to the BSP and the BZNS also will take part. Other political forces represented in parliament and individual leaders of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] also agreed to participate. All this afforded the reason to ask the president to organize a second meeting on 10 September at the Lozenets residence. At that meeting, I informed the political leaders about the progress of the consultations and proposed a model for the government, pointing out that this was my personal view.

I observed the preliminary condition that this government was to have a representative character and that the BSP ministers were not to dominate it. Only about 45 percent of the proposed ministers were BSP members.

[DUMA] Can you mention some of the people whose names figured in the list of this model cabinet?

[Lukanov] Dimitur Ludzhev, Petur Beron, Aleksandur Karakachanov, Aleksandur Yordanov, and Filip Dimitrov. Those are people whom I respect because of their obvious professional and intellectual qualities, who could successfully function in any government. Generally speaking, this meeting also took place in an atmosphere of goodwill. I did not encounter any sharp opposition. Of course, by that occasion, commentaries were already being voiced that such a great number of SDS figures should not be included in the government, because this would create problems in the SDS leadership itself and would evoke a negative reaction on the part of some SDS supporters. I said that I would accept this opinion and that I would be prepared to consider other SDS candidates—experts and people's representatives—who did not have leading posts at the moment.

[DUMA] Did Dr. Petur Dertliev attend that meeting?

[Lukanov] As far as I know, he was invited but did not attend the meeting. I do not have sufficient information and I do not want to take a stand on the internal issues of other parties or party coalitions. However, obviously a serious discussion of the issue of participating in the coalition took place in the SDS. A declaration was issued that the SDS will not participate under any form in a coalition with the BSP. On the following day, the president read his address in which he developed the idea of forming a program government, and proposed holding consultations on this issue. Afterward, at a joint meeting of the BSP Supreme Council and parliamentary group this issue also was discussed. It was decided to support the president's initiative, and if all means of reaching a compromise were exhausted—to proceed toward forming a one-party government. I think that one must also mention the last SDS rally at which slogans were raised which demonstrated the consolidation of the position calling for exacerbating the attacks against the BSP. I assess this as action against the president's initiative.

[DUMA] What happened during the last stage of the consultations?

[Lukanov] The last stage of the consultations took place on Tuesday, after the SDS rally and before the Wednesday session of parliament. There were numerous statements at the meeting, but they did not create a precise picture of what happened. This was the third meeting with the participation of the president. It was found that we had succeeded in agreeing on a coordinated program and its basic trends through the commission and the contact group. I stated this at the National Assembly: This document exists and there only are a few differences which could be eliminated. There simply was not enough time. Thus the claim that there was no basis for a program is not true. On the contrary, the first part of the president's formula was implemented. It was at that exact moment that the SDS representatives declared that they did not want to participate in a program government, unless certain preconditions were met. I mentioned those preconditions at the National Assembly: forming the program on the basis of the SDS platform, forming a government in which the SDS is the dominating force, and to form a cabinet without the participation of anyone who was in the party-state structure prior to 10 November 1989.

Let us say that the third precondition could be fulfilled. However, if this is considered a crime, and if no people deserving confidence, people who have preserved their image in society, have participated in the party-state structure before 10 November 1989, then it should apply to all. However, the first two preconditions significantly differ from the formula proposed by the president. This could not be a program government relying on a compromise among the basic political forces, nor a government in which no political force was the dominating factor. In other words, according to the president: a government of persons. What the other side meant was forming a government dominated by the SDS and implementing the SDS platform. In other words, an SDS government.

The subsequent attempt to present this position almost as the implementation of the president's idea, was at least strange, to put it mildly. This is far from the truth. This attempt so contradicts the real development of things, that one must react, because the real danger exists that our society receives an unreal impression of what happened. After all, each of us has a certain responsibility for his actions and positions.

What followed was my declaration at the National Assembly and my proposal for the new cabinet. I had an exceptionally short time to form this government.

[DUMA] What is your forecast? Will there ever be a coalition government?

[Lukanov] I would like very much to see that we understand this necessity before we hit rock bottom. When will this happen depends not on me or on the BSP. We remain supporters of this formula.

Zhelev Assembly Address, SDS' Future Analyzed

AU2109094590 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 18 Sep 90 pp 1, 3

[Rumyana Bratanova article: "Flying Somersault for Three"]

[Text] The events of last week placed certain political forces in our country in a new position, assigning new roles to them. In the first place, the president's profoundly meaningful address to the National Assembly came as a surprise.

We knew Zhelyu Zhelev as a shy and modest person, a strange mixture of a worldly scholar and a Bulgarian provincial whose unexpected political future could serve as an example for many professional statesmen. Overnight he turned from a dissident into the political leader of the opposition, he passed unaffected through the gruelling experience of the election campaign, and today, only a month after his election to the post of president of the republic, he provided evidence for his supra-party objectivity and his sincere concern about the country's fate. Dmitriy Pospelovskiy, a well-known Canadian professor of history, who only recently, in April 1990, published a research paper on the presidential (or monarchist) institution's role in the peaceful transition from the totalitarian system to democracy (in alliance with religion). He wrote as follows: "During the early transitional period, when the presidential system is in the process of being established, the country can escape a relapse into totalitarianism only by a prompt deideologization and full separation of all state and legislative institutions from the party, which also applies to the presidential institution." This statement fully coincides with Zhelyu Zhelev's intentions declared in his recent address and also with his legislative initiatives. His natural, fundamental, democratic spirit is perhaps the reason for the consensus achieved on many issues with his assistance. If we compare the number of important political agreements adopted at the roundtable negotiations (though they were subject to endless criticism), with the resistance which every idea proposed by the opposite side encounters in the Grand National Assembly today, we can only nostalgically remember the time of Zhelev's political leadership over one of the major political forces.

Only a few days following Petur Beron's contradictory statements which evoked some hopes about his participation in the government under certain conditions, we can now witness a hardening of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] position and a total refusal to participate in a coalition. Petko Simeonov, in a recent radio interview, condescendingly dismissed the president's proposal, while the opposition's press organs have so far failed to comment on the idea of a program government as such. Some individual statements of opposition members appearing in the mass media are not particularly promising regarding a positive response. The recent SDS rally, supported by the nearly million-strong circulation of the opposition press, by its free access to the other mass media, and last, but not least, by the considerable influence of the opposition bloc in parliament—all these circumstances—confirm the firm SDS resolve to reject all offers to participate in a government under the leadership of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP].

The BSP did not hesitate to recognize the prevailing influence of the right-wing forces in the SDS declaration (the name of Petur Dertliev is most frequently cited in this connection, as if the Socialist Democratic Party were an exponent of the right wing). However, such a shift to the right is not be excluded. On the other hand, we should not underestimate the personal incompatibility of some "blue" leaders with the BSP leaders. The most important thing, however, is that while the BSP was still in a comfortable position, last spring, being able to hold the congress that actually rescued it from the first crisis, today the opposition is on the offensive. It simply does not let the Socialists to recover breath. The BSP is expected to start its congress on 23 September 1990 in a state of weakness and confusion and to end it with a split. The radical forces within the party have already declared that "they are still present" but that they will leave the party if the congress does not distance itself from the conservatives. It is evident that the prime minister cannot enter the congress hall without having at least proposed a cabinet, even if it is only a one-party government with the participation of some outsiders. (Unlike the opposition forces within parliament, the opposition outside parliament has long since declared its readiness to assume responsibilities which no one expects from it. This is the only means for this group to appear on the political scene after the duel between the major opponents and its own weak performance in the elections have so far denied it this opportunity).

The third party is telling the truth: Ivan Gluskhov, representative of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, declared on television his party's readiness to enter a SDS coalition government with the participation of individual BSP members. Evidently, the firm, negative stand of the opposition on the question of the government is neither a simple right-wing trend, nor a desire to destroy the enemy (namely the BSP), but expresses the opposition's determination to seize power, namely total power, not after the local elections, but now. The opposition should take care—the Socialists have the majority in parliament—after all. Nevertheless, we who suffered under the administrative experiments of one single, ruling party over the last decades, shall certainly not object to a change of color. This has been happening in other countries over the last 100 years. Let us also go through the experience? As a Polish comedian recently said: Everything is possible; it may even be for the better. We should get used to political changes, and it would even be a useful lesson for our still inexperienced, but exceedingly self-confident politicians.

The controversy over the government, against the background of the current national crisis, before the eyes of all Europe, which is watching in amazement, and on the eve of the BSP Congress, entails considerable political risks for both sides, but also for the president of the Republic. The rejection of his idea about a program government is likely to affect his prestige and to show that he has difficulty in dealing with his own people. It is a well-known fact that the majority in parliament would not miss any opportunity of opposing him. Hence, he is expected to have problems with both the left and the right. The BSP, which is hardly expected to be the same after the coming week, considers itself threatened, after giving up the presidential post as a gesture of compromise, by the danger of losing even the last levers of power. The BSP's political science experts (such as Zakhari Zakhariev on television) are already suggesting that the SDS should be dissolved so that the individual parties (presuming the existence of a BSP of normal size) may cooperate in a natural way by establishing a left and a right wing in parliament. The SDS is facing great risks in this respect, considering that tensions within the union are also growing.

Everyone expects different things from the forthcoming week. Zhelev, as has happened on several occasions so far, will be out of the country at a crucial moment. Some people would like to be members of the government, other desperately refuse. In the meantime the pensioners demand their pension increase. The majority of people simply want to buy some cheese. Someone should also think about them.

Beron Rejects Dangerous Civil War Insinuations

AU2409143890 Sofia BTA in English 1341 GMT 24 Sep 90

["SDS Does Not Threaten Civil Peace"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 24 Sep (BTA)—If Mr. Aleksandur Lilov is reelected chairman of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], this would imply that the line which he represents takes the upper hand in the Socialist Party, Mr. Petur Beron, the leader of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), told the press.

The opposition leader indicated that recently certain quarters have started to persuade the public that Bulgaria is on the brink of a civil war. These insinuations are dangerous. The SDS wants civil peace to be maintained and all extremists to be isolated, Mr. Beron pointed out.

Mr. Petur Beron announced that today the SDS leadership decided to support the president's appeal for refraining from mass political actions while the head of state, the prime minister and the chairman of the Grand National Assembly are out of the country. "In this way the SDS shows its good will but by no means does it consider that the opposition threatens the civil peace in the country," specified Mr. Filip Dimitrov, deputy chairman of the SDS Coordinating Council.

Charges Against BSP Council Member Dropped

AU2209160190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 19 Sep 90 p 2

[Nikolay Zhelev report from Tolbukhin: "Accusations Against Member of Bulgarian Socialist Party Supreme Council Dropped"]

[Text] The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Municipal Council in Tolbukhin held a meeting at which it repealed its decision adopted on 4 September 1990 to distance itself from the style and working methods of Dimo Uzunov, who was secretary of the former Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] for only nine months and declared the accusations against him to be invalid.

The BSP Municipal Council briefed the BSP Supreme Council, of which Dimo Uzunov is a member, on the decision.

BZNS To Mark Petkov's Execution Anniversary

AU2109203190 Sofia ZEMDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 18 Sep 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Meeting of the BZNS Permanent Board"]

[Text] The stand of the Permanent Board of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS] on the issue of the unification of the BZNS and the "Nikola Petkov" BZNS, and more specifically its position on this fateful issue after the refusal of the Permanent Board of the other agrarian organization to participate any longer in the unification talks, was one of the main topics of the 17 September meeting of the BZNS Permanent Board. In this context it was decided to recommend to the municipal and local BZNS organizations that they appropriately mark the 43d anniversary of the hanging of Nikola Petkov, the great son of Bulgaria. This recommendation was issued against the background of the fact that the "Nikola Petkov" BZNS leadership categorically refused the justified proposal to pay joint tribute to Nikola Petkov's heroism in an event organized by the two organizations.

At the meeting of the BZNS Permanent Board certain details related to the newly constructed five basic directions of the organizational-political work, which replaced the previous departments, were specified. It was noted with great satisfaction that the first responses to the draft law on land relations, worked out by the BZNS, which was submitted to the Grand National Assembly by the BZNS Parliamentary Group, are especially positive and encouraging.

Alternative Socialist Wants Communism Eradicated

AU2109161390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Communism and socialism must be eradicated, because they are contrary to human nature: This was declared by Ivan Kalchev at a news conference held in Sofia today by the Alternative Socialist Association [ASO]-Independents. Members of the interim operative council of the independent association participated in the news conference.

Ivan Kalchev informed the journalists of his alarm over the fact that, according to his assessment, the ruling party is attempting to transfer the blame for the deteriorating situation in the country to the opposition. Making critical forecasts concerning the forthcoming Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] congress, Ivan Kalchev expressed the view that Bulgarian society will develop more successfully if the BSP disbands itself.

The journalists were informed that the ASO-Independents now has about 2,000 enrolled members, and that the association is a collective member of the Federation of Glasnost and Democracy Clubs.

Our attitude to the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] is based on the understanding that, under the conditions of the assault mounted by the BSP, there is no question of founding an opposition outside the SDS. For this reason, we consider it is necessary to rally around the SDS, stated Ivan Kalchev.

New Dobrudzha Patriotic Union Established

AU2409210290 Sofia BTA in English 1942 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Dobrich, 24 Sep (BTA)—The Dobrudzha All-Bulgarian Union held its constituent congress here today. Two hundred delegates from Sofia and from the towns of Dobrudzha, Northern Bulgaria, discussed and adopted the program and the statute of their independent public and nonpartisan organization, a body corporate headquartered in Dobrich.

The Dobrudzha All-Bulgarian Union seeks to reawaken, preserve and promote the Bulgarian national spirit of the Dobrudzhans living in Dobrudzha, of the rest of the country and abroad, to keep up the Bulgarians' national virtues, their patriotism and universal moral qualities.

On behalf of the Holy Synod and of His Holiness Patriarch Maksim, His Eminence Metropolitan Kiril of Varna and Preslav blessed the Dobrudzha All-Bulgarian Union, wishing it to serve the well-being of Dobrudzhans and all Bulgarians. The union received greetings from the Union of Bessarabian and Taurian Bulgaria, from the Bulgaria National Union in Silistra, from the Macedonia All-Bulgarian Union and from the Society for Cultural Relations With the Bulgarians in Romania.

Anniversary of Independence Marked in Sofia

AU2209163490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 22 Sep 90

[Text] Today the Union of Clergy, Radical Democratic Party, and the Podkrepa Labor Confederation invited all the citizens of Sofia to a festive religious service and celebration at the Mausoleum of the Prince of Battenberg to mark the 82d anniversary of the proclamation of Bulgaria's independence.

In their speeches Father Pop-Todorov, Elka Konstantinova, and others stressed the importance of this day for Bulgaria. Mr. Khristo Kutev, one of the organizers, read the speech-manifesto on Bulgaria's independence that Tsar Ferdinand read in Veliko Turnovo on 22 September 1908.

The author, Petur Konstantinov, emphasized in his speech that the motive that led to hundreds of people gathering in Sofia today was a glorious day in the history of our fatherland, and that the doors of the Mausoleum of the Prince of Battenberg were opened again today for the first time since they were locked on 6 September 1945, in order to allow the freedom-loving Bulgarian spirit to pass through them, with memories of the past and thoughts of its future.

At the end of his speech, Petur Konstantinov said that no party is able to appropriate for itself the national holidays, which are the possession of all the people.

Council of Ministers Prepares Indexation Decree

AU2409185990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] The Council of Ministers' Press Service submitted the following announcement:

The final version of a Council of Ministers decree on the indexation of the population's income has been prepared. The draft was examined by the National Commission on Coordination of Interests. The document is in keeping with the remarks and addenda supplied by the Independent Trade Unions Confederation in Bulgaria, the Podrkepa Labor Federation, and by the National Union of Economic Managers.

The draft decree is expected to be discussed at the first regular session of the Council of Ministers scheduled to take place soon.

Sofia Prosecutor on Trenchev, Koshlukov Cases

AU2409104590 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 13 Sep 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Borislav Yotov, acting chief prosecutor of Sofia, by Khristina Ivanova in Sofia; date not given: "There Is No Rule-Of-Law State Without Legality"; first paragraph is VECHERNI NOVINI introduction]

[Excerpts] Borislav Yotov has 20 years' experience as a prosecutor. He has participated in the gravest economic and criminal cases of public importance. [passage omitted]

[Ivanova] What can you tell us about the progress of the investigation into the vandalistic act of setting fire to the headquarters of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]?

[Yotov] As is already known, some 20 persons have been indicted, and 11 of them have been refused bail on the basis of Article 152, Paragraph 3, Point 1 of the Penal Procedure Code, according to which bail may be denied when there is a reasonable danger that the accused person could disappear, erase the traces of his crime, or commit another crime. For some of those who have been indicted, such as Dr. Trenchev, bail has been granted with the provision that they will not leave their place of residence without the permission from the prosecution. Some 40 eyewitness accounts, several material pieces of evidence, and to a large extent, his own explanation, which is also self-incriminatory, gave us reason to indict Dr. Trenchev on the basis of Article 216 of the Penal Code, namely, instigation of crime. However, this is not a final incrimination.

The case of Koshlukov has a different character. Ana Karaivanova, prosecutor-observer in the case, has been instructed to indict him on the basis of Article 216, Paragraph 3 of the Penal Code, and question him. This action requires an obligatory denial of bail on the basis of Article 146 of the Penal Procedure Code. This measure taken by the Sofia City Chief Prosecutor's Office can be revoked only by the chief prosecutor on the basis of Article 208 of the Penal Procedure Code. This has not been done in writing. Nevertheless, procedural-investigation steps have not been taken in respect of Koshlukov and he has not appeared at the Main Investigation Administration. The question is who performed this illegal act behind the back of the Sofia City Prosecutor's Office. [passage omitted]

Chavdar Chernev Named New Sofia Militia Chief

AU2409164590 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 19 Sep 90 p 1

[Nikolay Gavrilov report: "Sofia Militia Has New Director"]

[Text] Since the beginning of this week the Sofia Directorate of Internal Affairs has a new chief. On Monday [17 September] he was introduced by Minister of Internal Affairs Pencho Penev to all heads of the municipal administrations of the Ministry of Internal affairs in Sofia. The new chief of Sofia Militia is Lieutenant Colonel Chavdar Chernev. He is 39 and has been employed for 15 years by the Ministry of Internal affairs. In the last five years he was head of the Second Municipal Administration of the Ministry of Internal affairs in Sofia. He has formal higher education and is married.

'Disastrous' Situation in Energy Industry Viewed

AU2409085690 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 19 Sep 90 p 5

[Veselka Marinova article: "Nuclear Strike Against our Paralyzed Energy Industry"]

[Excerpts] The balance of available energy capacities shows that during the winter months the country will have a daily energy shortage of 500-1,000 megawatts. It is impossible for us to cope by regulating electricity consumption through power cuts, because the situation in the energy industry is disastrous. If the No. 6 generating unit at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant does not start operating this winter, greater restrictions will have to be imposed on both domestic and industrial consumers.

"The regulation of consumption," said Dimitur Sokolov, deputy chairman of the Committee for the Energy Industry, "will be carried out according to a strictly established procedure. The committee will not permit chaos, despite the attempt by a number of control room operators at the Central Control Administration to increase the social tension through anonymous threats concealed behind the collective signature of group irresponsibility."

The conclusions are unpleasant, but it is quite logical to ask what is happening to the Bulgarian energy industry. What is bad is that many things do turn out neither as intended, nor as required. For this reason, the No. 6 unit at the Kozloduy plant now presents the greatest problem not only for the energy industry, but also for the economy. It was supposed to have been brought into operation in September, but, owing to a number of reasons arising from the general lack of discipline in the economy, as well as unresolved bureaucratic problems—most of all the lack of highly qualified staff to operate the unit—its commissioning has been delayed, for the time being, until the start of December. However, even if it is commissioned then, the losses are already evident, because this is the primary and most important reason why we are now living in the dark and cold, and why industry will have to reconcile itself to restrictions in electricity consumption.

Every hour that the 1,100-megawatt unit remains inactive leads to huge economic losses. During the September to December period the country will lose about 90 million leva in the form of unproduced electric power. Again, if this electric power was exported under the current regime of regulation, we would earn $60 million.

The other serious and so far unsolved problem in the energy industry is the lack of fuel oil. On 1 September 1989 the branch's fuel oil stocks were three times greater than on the same date this year: 325,000 tonnes, as compared with 107,000 tonnes. It is clear that a number of district central heating facilities will not operate, and the oil-fired thermoelectric power plants face the risk of having to shut down. At present, the Maritsa-East Plant has stocks of fuel oil for only four to five days of operation.

The hydroelectric power plants are also not in operation, owing to water shortages. Of the 2,000 megawatts of installed hydroelectric generating capacities, during the winter months we can count on barely 300 megawatts, while only 450 of the total of 1,000 megawatts of generating capacity at industrial plants will be in operation. Nevertheless, whereas some of them at least will operate this year, what fate awaits us in coming years, when a considerable number of the thermoelectric power plants have already reached retirement age, having been in operation for more than 30 years? Even now, some of them are being taken out of commission because of obsolescence or for environmental reasons. [passage omitted]

What indeed is happening in the energy industry, when nothing turns out as planned or needed? If it does not lead the economy into a disaster this year, it will certainly do so in the coming years.

Sofia Police Raid Flea Market, Arrest Traders

AU2209171590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 22 Sep 90

[Khristo Khristov report]

[Excerpts] The Second Municipal Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Sofia began a large operation this morning against speculators. We can now state that the action took place at the Sofia flea market. Reporter Khristo Khristov sent the following dispatch by telephone:

[Begin Khristov recording] The operation is still going on. I am reporting from the department's offices, which already looks like a warehouse full of goods in short supply, ranging from food products to modern electronic equipment; in fact, everything that one cannot find in stores. [passage omitted]

The inspecting organs are waiting for trucks to arrive and take away the seized goods, together with their owners of course. The latter, one may say, represent an international team, because there are a large number of foreigners, as well as Bulgarians.

Major Nikola Nikolov, deputy chief of the department, is standing by me as I send this report. I understand, Major Nikolov, that in just two hours goods valued at over half a million leva and several tens of thousands of dollars were seized. Is this or is this not a lot?

[Nikolov] The goods here are only a fraction of all those we seized today at the flea market. These are goods confiscated from small-time speculators who buy the goods from so-called big dealers, who store them in basements, villas, and private apartments.

[Khristov] Is this sort of inspection operation effective, are you pleased that at least some of the speculators have been caught, and what percentage of the illegal goods have been seized, in your opinion?

[Nikolov] The inspection is effective at the moment, and I will be satisfied when we manage to get to the so-called big dealers. This is only a small part of what is being detected. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Stara Zagora Computer Plant Workers End Strike

AU2109193790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] In Stara Zagora, the strike at the Data Carriers Plant of the Disk Memory Devices State Company, which has lasted 51 days, was called off today. The motive for this was the completion of a personnel change in the management.

At its first meeting today, the new administrative council elected Rafael Sarkisyan as the company's general director, formerly the first deputy general director. This action satisfied the main demand of the strikers for Atanas Atanasov, who in their opinion was responsible for the company's serious state, to be removed from this post, which he had held until now.

The strike committee at the Data Carriers Plant and the Plant for Small Subsystems, which has been on token strike since the beginning of the week, are ready to discuss with the new administrative council and the new general director the problems and issues which have been raised.

Foreign Trade Bank Debt Negotiations Reported

AU2409210190 Sofia BTA in English 1943 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, 24 Sep (BTA)—The Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank announced that it held talks with the representatives of the consultative committee of its creditor banks in London from September 17 to 19, 1990.

Due to substantive differences in their approach to the collateralization of the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank indebtedness as a state debt with additional collaterals of the Ministry of Finance and the Bulgarian National Bank, the parties failed to sign a 12-month interim agreement between the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank and the creditor banks, the announcement says.

The consultative committee insisted on the immediate provision by the said Bulgarian institutions of unconditional collaterals that the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank will repay the principals and interests due, while the Bulgarian delegation maintained that such collaterals, consistent with Bulgaria's economic capacities in terms of amounts and deadlines should be linked with a package of long-term commitments and agreements on rescheduling, securing the treatment of Bulgaria by its creditors on the same footing as the other debtor countries.

It was decided to renew all maturities of principals and interests due from the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank in the period from September 30, 1990 to December 31, 1990 for a term of 90 days.

The negotiations will continue in October.

Plovdiv International Trade Fair Opens 24 Sep

AU2409121190 Sofia BTA in English 1101 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Plovdiv, 24 Sep (BTA)—The most significant annual trade and economic forum in Bulgaria was opened today by the vice president of the Republic, Mr. Atanas Semerdzhiev. He underlined the importance the country attaches to the opportunity of establishing contacts with foreign producers and businessmen. The world has changed, Europe is changing, especially the Eastern part of the continent and our country in particular, he said. All businessmen know that the most important component of the changes is the transition to a market economy. The fair in Plovdiv should become the first significant step towards the achievement of this object society has made it its purpose to achieve by embarking on the road to the establishment of a pluralistic and democratic state committed to the rule of law.

It is worth noting that despite the worsening economic crisis in the country, the interest in the Plovdiv exhibition has not failed. It is probably due to the processes of democratization in the political life and the desire for an economic reform and transition to a market economy declared by the political forces.

One-hundred-one Bulgarian private firms are exhibiting at the fair. They will rely on investments made by foreign partners who show a marked interest in private enterprise. On the other hand 250 Bulgarian state companies are looking forward to the liberalization of the centralized systems managing the economy.

The presence of Bulgaria's traditional partners from the FRG and Italy is the strongest at the fair. The GDR is exhibiting at it for the last time. A total of 2,415 companies from 30 countries are taking part in the fair.

The fair is representative, but having in mind the present legislation operating in the economy, to make optimistic predictions about the end results would be naive. The exploration of the possibilities on the part of the Bulgarian firms for possible transactions in the future seems to be more promising.

Private Business Establishes Contacts in Italy

AU2309191490 Sofia BTA in English 1721 GMT 23 Sep 90

["Bulgarian Private Business Establishes Contacts in Italy"—BTA headline]

[Text] Rome, 23 Sep (BTA correspondent)—A meeting of young Italian businessmen working in the private sector of Italy's economy held a meeting in the island of Capri. Representatives of Austria, Bulgaria, Canada, the FRG, France, Portugal and Spain also took part in the forum.

At the time of the meeting the Bulgarian representative, Mr. Valentin Mollov, who chairs the Union of Economic

Enterprise, had talks with Mr. Gianni de Michelis, minister of foreign affairs of Italy and president of the Council of Ministers of the European Community.

Mr. Mollov had also a meeting with Mr. Sergio Pininfarina, president of the Confederation of Italian Industrialists. They discussed the possibilities for the promotion of the relations between the two organizations.

Economic Aspects of German Unification Viewed

AU2509103990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 19 Sep 90 p 5

[Radoslav Velev commentary: "Settling Big Accounts"]

[Text] The final document, signed in Moscow on 2 September 1990, on the two-plus-four negotiations related to the foreign policy aspects of Germany's unification is officially called "Treaty on the Final Settlement of Germany." We would not be wrong in calling it a peace treaty; however, since that is what it is all about. The West German side declared itself categorically against a peace treaty and its wish was respected. The objection was prompted by financial motivations. Bonn was justifiably afraid that the signing of a peace treaty would prompt a wave of claims for financial compensations from a united Germany as the legal successor to the Third Reich.

The peace treaty would have added a large number of financial claims from countries near and far to the already hundreds of billions of mark that the reunification with the bankrupt GDR is costing the FRG. As a matter of fact, the Soviet Union, for example, took its share, immediately after World War II, from the zone it occupied in East Germany, while the FRG paid compensations to Israel. Who can predict the size of this potential avalanche of reparation claims? (Sofia would presumably remember the Third Reich's unpaid debts which amounted to approximately 38 billion Bulgarian leva at that time....)

I am not qualified to judge whether the "Treaty on the Final Settlement on Germany" can actually be called a peace treaty according to international law. Presumably, the most appropriate definition would be to say that a peace treaty does exist, but, at the same time, does not exist. The important thing is that the document signed in Moscow by the foreign ministers of the GDR, the FRG, and the four victorious powers of World War II, namely the USSR, the United States, Great Britain, and France, marks the end of the postwar period in the history of our continent from a legal point of view. The most important result of the treaty is that by signing it the four powers renounced their rights and obligations concerning "Germany as a whole" which they had maintained for over 45 years. This actually means that united Germany will enjoy an unlimited sovereignty like all "normal" countries of the world. This, however, cannot be said either about the GDR or the FRG, without reservations.

Totally uncontroversial situations rarely exist in politics, therefore, we are expecting to witness quite amazing paradoxical situations in connection with the unification of Germany. One of them is that troops of the Soviet Union, which is the main power of the Warsaw Pact, will continue to be stationed in the eastern part of united Germany—a member of NATO—until 1994. The situation in global terms is even more preposterous. It has been unanimously agreed that the cold war between East and West ended with the summit meeting in Malta. However, has World War II, which preceded the cold war, also ended? As far as Europe is concerned, the answer may be yes, but what about the other areas of the world? No peace treaty exists between the Soviet Union and Japan so far. Perhaps Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to that country, scheduled to take place in 1991, will contribute decisively to closing the round of negotiations that started with the Paris peace treaties of 1947. These treaties were signed by Italy, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Finland. In San Francisco in 1951, the United States and Great Britain signed their separate peace treaties with Japan, and now finally we have the actual peace treaty signed with Germany represented by the two German states.

After having definitely ended with the cold war, we should also put an end to World War II. It is appropriate that mankind should greet the 21st century having setted its big accounts.

New Israeli Ambassador on Course of Relations

AU2409163990 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 19 Sep 90 pp 1,4

[Interview with Israeli Ambassador Me'ir Joffe by Ben-Yakov Benkovski in Tel Aviv; date not given: "I Shall Work for the Benefit of Israel and Bulgaria"; first paragraph is ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME introduction]

[Excerpts] Tel Aviv, 18 Sep—As was already well known at the beginning of this year, the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS] proposed restoring diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and Israel. The initiative was implemented by spring. At the end of July, the Israeli Government appointed Me'ir Joffe Israeli ambassador to Bulgaria. He was kind enough to tell about himself and share with ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME's readers some of his visions about his future activity in our country. [passage omitted]

[Benkovski] Mr. Joffe, what are your plans in connection with expanding cultural and trade relations between Israel and Bulgaria

[Joffe] The Israeli Ministry of Foreign affairs views very seriously the development of relations with the Eastern European countries, after those countries started to resume their relations with Israel.

The offer from our Ministry of Foreign Affairs that I become ambassador to Sofia surprised me, and since I like challenges, I accepted the new post with pleasure.

Now to your question. I started learning everything about Bulgaria. As I already said, for me this is a new area, however, as long as I am in Sofia, I will subject my entire activity to developing relations, for the benefit of Israel and Bulgaria.

I think that the most important thing is to fill Israeli-Bulgarian relations with specific contents. Agriculture is one of the possible areas of cooperation. Israel is one of the world leaders in agricultural development. I shall be pleased if we succeed to establish joint enterprises. [passage omitted]

Lilov Receives CPSU Politburo Member Yanayev

AU2409164790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
20 Sep 90 p 2

[Text] On 19 September Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] met Gennadiy Yanayev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, who is paying Bulgaria a short working visit. During the talk, issues related to bilateral interparty cooperation and the dynamic social processes in Bulgaria and the USSR were discussed.

The joint opinion was expressed that it is necessary to further develop cooperation between the BSP and the CPSU, in accordance with the radical changes that are taking place in the two countries.

Wishing success to the forthcoming 39th BSP Congress, the guest pointed out that the Soviet Communists will follow its work with special interest, understanding how important the present moment is for Bulgaria's fate and for constructing a humane, democratic, and just society.

Prime Minister Lukanov on Short Visit to Moscow

WA2509155190

For coverage of Prime Minister Lukanov's visit to Moscow, including talks with his Soviet counterpart, Nikolay Ryzhkov, please see the East Europe section of the 25 September Soviet Union DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Jicinsky Interviewed on Procedural Questions

AU2109112590 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 12 Sep 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Zdenek Jicinsky, Federal Assembly deputy chairman, by Katerina Sladkova; place and date not given: "The Laws Are in the Hands of the Deputies"]

[Text] The Federal Assembly building will again be at the center of attention tomorrow. Deputies from the Chamber of People and the Chamber of Nations will meet here at a joint meeting to discuss, among other things, the first set of impatiently awaited laws. Whether the draft laws are adopted or not is always decided by the voting of the deputies. This is why our interview with Zdenek Jicinsky, LL.D., Federal Assembly deputy chairman, mainly dealt with two questions on procedural matters.

[Sladkova] Each Federal Assembly chamber has, following the parliamentary elections, 150 deputies. Could you tell us again, according to which system the representation in each chamber has been determined?

[Jicinsky] The Chamber of People uses the one-man-one-vote principle, that is, it has 101 deputies elected in the Czech Republic and 49 deputies elected in the Slovak Republic. This is proportional to the number of residents in each republic. In the Chamber of Nations, however, the principle of national political equality applies, and, therefore 75 deputies represent the Czech Republic and 75 deputies, the Slovak Republic.

[Sladkova] When are the chambers able to pass a resolution?

[Jicinsky] The Chamber of People can pass resolutions when more than 50 percent of all deputies are present, whereas the Chamber of Nations requires the presence of more than half of the deputies elected in the Czech Republic and more than half of the deputies elected in the Slovak Republic. For a resolution to be passed, approval of more than half of the deputies is required in the relevant chamber.

[Sladkova] I know, however, that for passing bills a simple majority is not enough.

[Jicinsky] Legal norms [pravny normi] have various legal strengths. At the top of the hierarchy is the Constitution and the constitutional laws. A three-fifths majority is required for passing such laws; in the Chamber of Nations the deputies elected in the Czech Republic and the deputies elected in the Slovak Republic vote separately and the three-fifths majority is required in each group. Constitutional regulations determine in which cases a simple majority is not sufficient to pass a resolution, but for which the so-called "qualified majority" is needed.

[Sladkova] In the process of passing some bills, the term "prohibition against majoritarianism" appeared. Could you explain this?

[Jicinsky] Basically, this is how the Chamber of Nations votes. The constitutional law determines in which cases the prohibition against majoritarianism will be introduced. If such a situation arises, then the deputies elected in the Czech Republic and the deputies elected in the Slovak Republic vote separately. A resolution is passed only if a majority of the deputies elected in the Czech Republic and a majority of the deputies elected in the Slovak Republic vote for its approval, as long as a qualified majority is not required. A result of this is that Czech deputies cannot be outvoted by Slovak deputies, and vice versa, but it also means that a law cannot be passed if the necessary majority has not been achieved in both national groups.

[Sladkova] Parliament is not the monolithic organ that it used to be—various, and very often contradictory ideological streams appear in it. What are the mechanisms that keep it operational?

[Jicinsky] Above all, it is necessary to realize that we represent a two-member federation that is based on consensus on all principal questions. If consensus is not reached, there are no constitutional mechanisms that would replace it. A different political composition, above all in the Chamber of People, understandably means a different approach to solving various questions. A certain possibility for bridging differing standpoints, for example between the Chamber of Nations and the Chamber of People, is the existence of the arbitration institute which is governed by existing procedural rules. Its form will see substantial changes, however, because the possibility exists that quite new situations, which were unknown under the previous system, may arise.

People's Party Official on Chairman, 'Split'

LD2109213890 Prague CTK in English 1958 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 21 (CTK)—Czechoslovak People's Party leadership member Richard Sacher said in a statement today that party Chairman Josef Bartoncik "did not see in time when he should have resigned and as a result has become a burden for the party dragging it to the bottom of political life, into political isolation."

Bartoncik, who had been accused of collaboration with the Secret Police [STB], and party Secretary-General Jiri Cerny said in a reply that it was not up to Sacher to decide who would be party chairman but up to a party congress. The party will hold its congress on September 29. Both statements were presented to CTK.

This infighting is indicative of a deep rift within the People's Party, one of the two Czech parties which survived forty years of communist control within the "National Front." The other, the Socialist Party, has already split.

Bartoncik and Cerny described the move of Sacher, Czechoslovak interior minister up to June 1990, as "a new campaign against the People's Party" and accused him of being a "touching champion of the Civic Forum." The forum is the largest political force in the Czech Republic while the People's Party is not represented on the government after last June's elections although it is represented in parliament.

Sacher criticized the leadership of the party, which opted to be in opposition, for not behaving as an opposition party but pursuing a "stubborn, spiteful and futile policy."

Frantisek Reichel has resigned from the party leadership recently and bitter arguments between editors have also found their way to the pages of the party paper LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE.

First Meeting of Socialist Party Takes Place

LD2209212190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 22 Sep 90

[Text] The first Land Congress of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party [CSS] for Moravia and Silesia took place in Prostejov today.

About 150 delegates approved the statutes of the Moravian-Silesian Land Party organization. Professor Milan Adam, acting deputy chairman of the CSS, characterized the situation in the Prague organization. He also spoke about the development of relations between the leadership of the party and the Melantrich Company. Talks are going on about organizing it as a shareholding company involving foreign capital.

Calfa Answers Questions on Privatization Law

LD2209134690 Prague Television Service in Czech 1755 GMT 21 Sep 90

["Regular Friday" interview with Federal Premier Marian Calfa by unidentified reporter; place and date not given; reporter asks questions in Czech, Calfa responds in Slovak—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. Premier, the only problem that basically stirs not only media, but also public opinion on a daily basis, is, so to speak, the inadequate replacement of management structures—(?if we can use) this term. You and your government adopted a certain stance on this isssue and you conveyed it in your 17 September speech to parliament. Let us speak a little more on this topic, then. There are basically three aspects of this problem. It is said that the radical start of the economic reform is being hampered precisely by the people managing economic enterprises. What should be done with them?

[Calfa] Well, we view this problem as follows: The Federal Assembly is now discussing the so-called small restitution law, or the law which, according to 1959 norms, amends the return of confiscated private assets. The governments are also meeting and are drafting the so-called small privatization law. We attach great importance to it, because when this privatization law begins to function within our public, it will mean that all small busineses, all small enterprises, and all service business premises will be turned over to private citizens. At this point the whole sphere of management, the importance of which will cease, will separate from these businesses. Even from this point of view, therefore, we attach great importance to small privatization. Furthermore, we feel that precisely this process of small privatization will substantially contribute to the breakdown of local management structures in a natural and economic way, as well as in a democratic and logical way.

[Reporter] How should we replace the so-called old structures from the sphere of local state administration?

[Calfa] The basis of state administration rests in the charter on national committees. Let us, therefore, talk about this. The elections to local representative bodies are being prepared. The norms for the period after these elections are now being discussed by both national councils. The entire structure of national committees will basically disappear. Community representations in towns and villages will be introduced. Some kind of new institutions of state administration, which will probably be called district offices, will also come into being. This title is still under discussion, and their agenda is quite clear.

In these elections, and during the change that should occur in November, the whole structure of lower rank civil servants should disappear. At the same time—and this is linked with my answer to the first question—the interconnections between the economic sphere of local importance and between the institutions of local importance should also break down. These are precisely the structures we know least about. These are precisely the structures which show no movement; they are static and at a standstill. In this connection, I would like to say yet another thing. This is not a simple process, because state administration is at issue, or the administration of the whole state. It is necessary to adopt a rather cautious approach when shifting these functions, because they should serve the people. They process everyday affairs of our people—passing various decisions, such as building permits and other affairs. This change, therefore, should not affect our people. We think that we can cope with it.

I am a little puzzled over one thing—that is a legislative amendment is being drafted which would mean the heads of these district offices or the only links of state administration, should be appointed by the republican executive bodies. I personally think that it would be appropriate if the republican legislative bodies entered this process, either by means of passing an approval of this decision or perhaps even directly by means of elections. I think that this would be a more democratic form of appointing heads of these important offices.

[Reporter] What are, in your view, the criteria for leading officials?

[Calfa] First, of course, is absolute professionalism. This professionalism consists of several parts. One is certain moral purity and moral credit. We must realize that these are people who would represent the state and who would make decisions about our people. It should, therefore, be a group of people about which we could say with clear conscience: Yes, these are the officials who see things objectively; these are the officials who know how to make decisions; these are the officials who are apropriately educated; these are the officials who serve us. I know that this sounds a bit idealistic, but we must set some ideals and visions for ourselves, and select these people according to these ideas. The second criterion, which I regard as being of equal importance, is that these should be the people who wish to do this work. These should be the people who have positive attitude to this work. This is a part of professionalism. They should be the people who are indifferent toward politics, because their role is to carry out the administration of the state and not to do local politics.

[Reporter] What is left now is the last sphere, the sphere of state administration at the level of central agencies and institutions.

[Calfa] This sphere is comparatively complicated. I would like to say that as far as central bodies are concerned, then they have been in a state of perpetual flux this year. The reason is, on the one hand, in the first six months of this year they changed their structure; on the other hand, in the second six months, there appears considerations about changing jurisdiction between the Federation and the republics concerning the way of transferring this jurisdiction to the republics. Thus, these bodies will be, in essence, naturally slimmed down, and in some way they will also merge. It will be done simply in such a way so that they would function rationally as far as ensuring the function of the Federation is concerned. The same applies to the republics.

Thus, people are leaving in this connection. There are, of course, still plenty of signs that the entire sections which remain intact still exist in these central agencies. I had this problem in the Government Presidium Office. At my proposal, the Federal government decided yesterday to basically abolish the leading structure of the office with three small exceptions. This is a start to the process of renewing this office, and I think that we will manage to build this office up in a modern shape.

The third thing I would like to say is that producing a top-notch central agency official it is not at all a simple matter, because it must be a person with an aptitude for this kind of work and with an appropriate education. It must be a person who wants to do this work and who should also possess a number of other prerequisites for this work. It seems that we shall in fact have to start from nothing. This means that we should start working with our young people. I personally think the ideal would be to start with graduates by sending them on courses and on working attachments abroad. I would like to use this opportunity for calling on all our graduates of any specialization, who think that they possess prerequisites for working in central state administration, to contact the Government Presidium Office. We will set up a selection procedure, and this will be the basis on which we will build a new pool of state administration officials. I personally think that this is probably the only logical conclusion we can make in this situation.

Ruml Cited on 17 Nov Events Investigation

AU2109142390

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 15 September on page 2, under the headline "The Truth at a Second Attempt" publishes a 1,000-word interview with Jiri Ruml, Federal Assembly deputy, by Jana Dmidova.

When asked about the first commission established to investigate the 17 November events, Ruml says that "it is not enough to have the date of 17 November in the commission's name. It is necessary to focus on what happened before this date and to find out all the circumstances that lead to the massacre on Narodni Trida."

On the subject of the second commission—which is yet to be established—Ruml expresses dissatisfaction with the fact that the commission is to be composed of 26 people and that "those who made the list of the commission members tried putting on the list the representatives of all political parties, a sort of political spectrum. Should the list become final, I would be worried about the commission's ability to act promptly and competently."

Asked whether the new commission will not represent a springboard for political careerism, Ruml replies that indeed there is such a danger. He also adds that the first commission's greatest flaw was that 16 of its members were former collaborators with State Security. Ruml says he does not want this situation to be repeated and he wants commission members to be screened.

On the subject of representation of students in the second commission, Ruml states that three members of student parliament are planned to be in the commission and that "it would be useful if the new commission cooperated with the members of the previous commission. It is to them we owe a job well done—it was they who made interesting discoveries." Ruml states further that half of the list would be enough and that "small groups would cooperate with the prosecutor general, military prosecutor, and other organs." According to Ruml, the second commission should form groups that would "focus on the activity of the Army, State Security, and Communist Party of Czechoslovakia apparatus."

When asked whether the findings of the commission will be secret, Ruml answers that "it sounds like imposing restrictions, yet some secrecy should be maintained. Not because we want to keep anything secret, but because possible culprits and suspects should not learn the facts before they are summoned for interrogation."

According to the interviewer, the first commission had only very limited powers and she wants to know what powers the second commission will have. Ruml answers that "we should have as many powers as possible." Ruml adds that the commission will have to respect the existing laws, which may limit the ability to operate quickly and efficiently. He also states that the commission should have the right to summon witnesses, which is not possible under the current law. As a way of solving this problem, Ruml suggests that "court and justice officials that have right to examine files, etc., should be elected as members of the commission."

Vacek Refutes Free Legion Accusations

AU2209060090 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 15 Sep 90 pp 1,2

[Interview with Army General Miroslav Vacek, CSFR defense minister, by Katarina Fornerova; place and date not given: "The Free Legion—A Thorn in His Side?"; first paragraph is SMENA introduction]

[Text] Articles about the Free Legion have recently caused a few ripples in the Czech media's waters, but have not had the same affect on the Slovak media. A particular reason for this was their recent congress at which they demanded the "head" of Miroslav Vacek, minister of national defense.

[Fornerova] In its program, the Free Legion—composed of career soldiers, soldiers undergoing basic military training, and employees in military administrations—claims that it is concerned about development in the Army. It is particularly interested in its democratization which, apparently, has not proceeded too much since the November revolution. You refuted these accusations by giving many specific details at a news briefing. Despite this, how do you view their activity?

[Vacek] The Free Legion organized a congress to which no one from the Army command was invited. The career soldiers who head this organization do not inspire trust because they did not win any by their previous activities in the service. For example, they protest that we have not thrown political employees out of the Army while some very active former political employees are members of their organization.

[Fornerova] What is the basis for their activities?

[Vacek] They are "distinguished" by the fact that there are about six of them, and they have approximately 30,000 people at their disposal who were in their previous organization. At the same time, they have been collecting signatures in such a way that soldiers undergoing basic military training have been signing for cutting short....

[Fornerova] However, they represent resistance to the Army command. Practice in similar situations has usually been the following: Either I will break the resistance, or I will win people over to my side....

[Vacek] The discussion we held with them prior to their establishment—the Free Legion registered with the Czech Republic Interior Ministry on 31 July 1990—led to nothing. The last three-hour meeting ended with one of the participants, a member of their current leadership, trying to blackmail me. Apparently, he was going to publish information about me which would be of interest to the public. As long as there is no change in the Free Legion leadership, I will refuse to hold talks with them. At the same time, I am not denying that there may be people among them who mean the Army well. I would, on the contrary, welcome talks with them!

[Fornerova] The Free Legion sent Army General Miroslav Vacek, CSFR defense minister, an open letter. A copy was also sent to CTK. Among other things, the letter returns to this association's congress and to the news conference following it: ".... The Free Legion does not want your head. The opinion you expressed, Mr. Minister, that our discussions may be seen as a rebellion, is appalling. The Free Legion is striving to achieve the same things in the Army that people were striving for when they freely elected the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence movement. In Paragraph II of our articles it states: A principle of the Free Legion is work for the development of the Czechoslovak Army and, through it, for the whole of society. The congress materials show that this is not just an empty phrase."

The letter states in conclusion: "More than 5,500 members of the Free Legion are awaiting a public apology with an addendum stating in which functions Free Legion representatives and the Army command were working a year ago and in which functions they are working today, including their past and present ranks."

Calfa on Disputes Hindering Economic Reform

LD2409162490 Prague CTK in English 1538 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 24 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa said today that disputes about powers between the Federation and the two national republics have become a dangerous hindrance to economic reform in Czechoslovakia.

Calfa was meeting representatives of the Association of Businessmen from Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Slovakia who asked him for help in eliminating the existing legislative barriers, in particular in obtaining permission for private business activities.

Calfa promised help in simplifying registration procedures and criticized the principle of economic lease enabling the old structures to stay in power.

He further said that disputes between the Federation and the national republics regarding their powers have become a dangerous hindrance to economic reform. While the ministries the question of the powers, the drafting of fundamental economic laws is being delayed, he said, stressing the need, however, to speedily introduce the rules of the game. The elimination of undesirable managing structures can be expected during the privatization of services and shops and the November local elections, and the first results could thus be seen already in December, Calfa said.

Referring to the issue of business authorities, which are to be set up under a new law just being drafted by the Interior Ministries of the two republics, Calfa said that in his opinion they should form an absolutely independent system, guaranteed by law. The representatives of the Businessmen's Association were against the Interior Ministries retaining the decisive influence of their civilian-administrative departments in the business authorities, which, they said, was the basic obstacle to private business.

Langos Comments on Stracar's Death, Screenings

AU2509085690 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 13 Sep 90 p 2

[CTK report: "No Sensational Revelation"]

[Text] Prague—Jan Langos, federal interior minister, has once again appeared before the CSFR Federal Assembly Defense and Security Committees. He discussed conceptual issues pertaining to his department with the deputies, and he replied to their questions about the report on the security situation in Czechoslovakia, which he submitted to them last Thursday [6 September].

In reply to a question about how the investigation into the "causa Stracar" is proceeding, Jan Langos said that there is no evidence that there ever was a "causa Stracar." He, himself—as he stated—asked the Brazilian authorities to provide the autopsy protocol and the clinical report on the course of the illness suffered by the former Czechoslovak minister of foreign trade. From the clinical report, which was written by medical experts and which the Czechoslovak side has now obtained, there are no signs of an unnatural death. We still do not have the autopsy results at our disposal—said Jan Langos—but I think there is more of a "causa Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade" which is unjustifiably associated with Minister Stracar.

In reference to the deputies fears that the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy is taking on people from the former State Security, the interior minister said that the office's structure is being monitored by a special commission.

The deputies were also interested in the possibility of further screenings, for example, in the regions. Minister Langos said that any regional manager requesting screenings should be recalled because this means that he does not know what is going on in his own enterprise or office. "I consider mass screenings to be nonsense. This is a measure taken in desperation which will not help the organization," added Jan Langos.

Proceedings of Czech Parliament Session Reported

AU2509125590 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 20 Sep 90 pp 1, 8

["st"-signed report: "Congruence of Budgets"]

[Text] The government of the Czech Republic approved yesterday the proposal of the regulations for the federal and the Czech budgets. Following the session, at the press conference, Karel Spacek, Czech Republic minister of finance, described this approval as a significant part of the general reform effort, and emphasized that the two proposals are mutually in congruence. Already the fiscal budget for 1991 should be prepared according to the new regulations.

As opposed to the former practice, above all the relationship between the budgets changes. Formerly, the federal budget had a privileged position, now, all three (federal and both national) budgets are autonomous and relatively independent. They can rely on the body of their own revenues, which they are to manage. The fundamental principle is that all resources developed in the territory of the particular republic will flow into its treasury. The body of revenues of the federation will be delimited by its share in these resources—sales tax, excise duty, tax on profit. The size of the share will be decided on the basis of the operation of the established work groups (dealing with the jurisdiction division among the governments).

It is assumed, however, that the Federation will not be the proverbial poor relative. Its budget will be funded well enough to cover macroeconomic policy as well as to enable the formation of the necessary state reserves, for the Federation will have its own programs and it needs money to fund them. The budgetary policy for next year will be prepared by a financial council with all three parties participating.

During yesterday's session, the Czech Government was also acquainted with the first experiences gained by implementation of the legal measures of the Federal Assembly Presidium on increasing the number of leading posts filled by appointment. Thereby, among other things, it acknowledged warnings that attempts are made to substitute qualified decision on personnel changes with an automatic process reminiscent of the generally rejected cadre evaluation of the past. These issues cannot be decided on by any referenda or petitions. It would contradict the true goal of our efforts at an economic and political revival.

Internal Revenue System To Be Established

AU2109140890 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 12 Sep 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Arnost Culik, deputy minister of finance of the Czech Republic, by Petr Stepanek, HOSPODARSKE NOVINY correspondent; place and date not given: "On the Formation of a New Internal Revenue

System; Will It Prevent Income Tax Evasion?"; first paragraph is HOSPODARDSKE NOVINY introduction]

[Text] The keystone of the state budget in the market system is the revenue from taxes which, in Czechoslovakia, will be supervised by a new system of financial bureaus, formerly denoted as internal revenue. At this time, following the schedule for the economic reform, a government bill on financial bodies is being prepared and the Czech National Council should discuss it this fall. They will open for business on 1 January 1991. We asked Arnost Culik, deputy minister of finance of the Czech Republic, about the concept.

[Stepanek] Will there be Internal Revenue or Financial Bureaus?

[Culik] Because of the concept of these new institutions dealing with taxes, the phrase internal revenue seems to be too narrow a term; therefore, we are not inclined to support it. The extent of their operations is greater than just collecting taxes. It should include not only government budget revenues, but also the expenditures. Namely, they will also administer and supervise subsidies such as non-investment subsidies in agriculture, which are currently in the jurisdiction of the financial administrative bodies. The main concern of their employees, however, will really be the administration of taxes, fees, and levies with the exception of local taxes. They should guarantee the assessment and payment of taxes, including their correctness and amount. A total of 271 financial bureaus of this type will be established in the Czech Republic, and 85 of them will also administer subsidies.

The new area of operation is tied to the expected transfer of customs and excise policy from the Ministry of Foreign Trade of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic to the ministries of finance. While customs and excise policy would be formed on the Federal level, its actual implementation would be entrusted to the republics. Our financial bureaus will be linked integrally to the import tax administration which, under the new taxation system, will be closely connected to the value-added tax and to the excise duty. The financial bureaus' association with the First Republic's Internal Revenue Bureaus should based on the quality of their work and effectiveness rather than on their association with the latter bureaus' name.

[Stepanek] Do the organization and the distribution of the new financial bodies correspond to the image of a modern internal revenue institution?

[Culik] I am convinced that they do. We propose a two-stage system in which the individual bureaus are to be managed by financial directorates (about eight in all). They will also become the board of appeals. Of course, their main task is methodic management, which includes supervision as well as general accommodation of the financial bureaus—for instance, supplying the computing technology and other equipment. For example, they will provide 125 personal computers this year, and another 650 next year. A mainframe computer will then link the individual financial bureaus with their directorates and with the Ministry of Finance. We would like to use the former regional financial administrative bodies as a natural, and thus far the most experienced, basis from which the directorates would be formed. The proposed system can also be fully applied in the provincial system; only the administrative superstructure would have to be restructured.

We are trying to bring the financial bureaus as close to the taxpayers as possible. They will be distributed throughout the republic according to the expected amount of business and the local economic activities. The number of bureaus is higher than that of present districts. If they want to know the taxpayers well, they must operate flexibly. One of their most important tasks is the so-called searching activity. It means that they will not wait until the taxpayers come forward and file their tax forms voluntarily but, based on their own operation, they will assess the mood of the taxpayers and verify that no tax evasion takes place. Thereby, they will cooperate with small-business centers and other institutions. Entrepreneurs and others do not have to worry that they will not be able to find the financial bureaus. They will be only too aware of them. At the end of 1991—i.e., in their final form—they are to employ a staff of 9,500; that is 7,500 more than at present. This year, we would like to hire 1,700 employees. By 1993, when the new internal revenue system has come into effect, we must already have good, qualified internal revenue officers.

[Stepanek] What are the requirements in their selection, and what kind of authority will they enjoy in their work?

[Culik] Directors of the financial bureaus and of the financial directorates are to be selected in open competitions before representatives of the Ministry of Finance and the public. Different conditions will be set for each competition, and they will be approved by the minister of finance. It will be an attractive position with good prospects for many university graduates. The age of the internal revenue managers should ideally be in the 35 to 45 years age range. We can offer them excellent pay so they would not need to look for a second job—as tax advisers or experts on company management boards, for instance — which might result in a conflict of interest. The moral qualities of the applicants must be assessed together with the professional ones. Only a smart and incorruptible finance officer is useful.

Appropriate training is being prepared for all staff. First they will learn the whole extent of the financial bureau operations and then they will specialize in the specific form of taxes with which they want to work—the selection includes the full range, from business and general taxes to employment income taxes. They have to be acquainted with the present situation as well as with the prepared changes. Above all, they must properly comprehend the structure and application of the most important tax in the market economy system, which is common in Western European countries, the value-added tax. We will utilize the experiences of our Austrian colleagues, whose system is nearest to us. We are also studying other models, such as, for instance, the French and the German models.

Of course, in case of our people finding some discrepancies in the obligations of the payers, penalties will be imposed. Thus far, the penalties will be imposed according to the law on misdemeanor action. A law is expected in the new internal revenue system on proceedings in tax matters. In the future, the individual legal amendments on taxes should already include provisions about penalties for violations. The state cannot afford to risk tax evasions; therefore, the establishment of a system of financial bodies is approached very seriously and responsibly.

Meciar TV Message on Security Situation

LD2309221490 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1800 GMT 23 Sep 90

[Television address by Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar in Prague on 23 September—recorded]

[Text] Good evening fellow citizens! Every morning when I come to work I find on my desk three files; all of them contain reports on the situation in the Slovak territory in the past 24 hours. These are reports on the development of the security situation. I have been waiting hopefully that one day at least the reports will say: Esteemed Mr. Premier, nothing exceptional has happened in Slovakia this time. Unfortunately, my wishes are not being fulfilled. The envelopes are full of various unfavorable, bad news. It emerges that the development of the security situation in Slovakia is unfavorable, it has reached a certain level in the first quarter of the year and we have not managed to lower this level.

When we consider the question as to why there is such an unfavorable situation, we must take into account several factors: the first being the fact that in general on the territory of Slovakia the civil and working discipline has somewhat declined. The lack of feeling of responsibility for one's own actions has led to a release of those groups that were to a certain extent subdued by the totalitarian system which were not able to freely express themselves. Thus, they incorrectly understand the meaning of the democracy. We must also not forget to take into account that the release of a great number of people from corrective training institutions under the amnesty declared by the president of the republic was a step for which our society was not ready. Sufficient numbers of jobs were not created for them; housing was not ready for them; not every one of them was well received by his family; and thus these factors led them to return to the path of evil.

It emerges that in the future we must very sensitively weigh the extent of amnesty. Unfortunately, many of those who were given another chance did not make use of it and continued to commit crimes. A very tough struggle is being waged against them. They are returning to where they were released; they have not made use of the chances given to them.

Romanies are the second group of people who are committing very serious crimes against society. We must not close our eyes to the fact that despite the low percentage of the population they represent, they do represent a very high percentage of those who are being prosecuted for crimes of those who are in corrective training establishments. We have to differentiate between Romanies in our attitude toward them; not all Romanies should be rejected; there are differences between them. We must not approach them from a position of racism and hostility. On the other hand Romanies must decide among themselves how they should differentiate between each other, how to separate themselves from those who make a bad name for themselves, who are committing crimes and are also filled with racial prejudice toward the whites because the society will not differentiate between Romanies and the others—because laws are the same for all, and we will make them and everyone else responsible for their deeds.

We cannot in our attitude toward Romanies say all of them are bad. If among ten of them, nine are bad and one is good we must still say that one is good; we must not reject them all. In our attitude toward Romanies an entire new concept of social policy, an entire new concept of educational aims—the Church has promised to help here—will be needed. Thus, we face a great deal of work in this respect.

The situation is such that no new privileges will be created for them, they will have the duties and rights only in the same framework as other citizens of the republic. We will unconditionally insist on the duties, even at the cost of repressions. We expect that those among the Romanies who are promising changes will need to act in such a way that these changes do take place.

New conditions are bringing about new types of criminal offenses. These are above all in the sphere of enterprising activities where many people are taking advantages of the lack of legal changes, the certain weakening of the state administration in conducting checks, and they direct their enterprising activity in a negative direction. This is true above all about black market economy dealers. For example, according to one estimate it has been calculated that in Prague—as a consequence of introduction of free tourism—the removal of visa duties should bring in $200 million. When the circulation of this money is assessed it emerges that about 100 million stays with black market money dealers. This is a great force and the state must resist it and it must be able to put things right. The state cannot be weaker than gangs, than various groups that want to carry on with criminal offenses at the expense of other citizens.

Among novelties there is also the position of various joint-stock companies. Former old structures are attempting to hold on by trying to transfer state assets to joint-stock companies and then to rent these state assets or to make business-use of them in other ways. They are attempting to organize it in such a way that the profits will go to a joint-stock company, and such a joint-stock company will be in fact composed only of a few people.

I recently received a list of such so-called joint-stock companies and one of them for instance was composed only of seven people, out of them three couples, all three of these former officials, for example Deputy Premier Murin and his wife and others. We are not preventing them to be engaged in entrepreneurship, but it must be in harmony with the law and strictly within the limits of the law. If if is not the case then we have to take measures using the law and state power.

This is why the People's Control, the present Ministry of Control, was given an order to check these joint-stock companies, to investigate how some officials speedily difuse state assets of the former structures, to prevent this from happening and to dissolve such pseudo joint-stock companies.

If we are discussing the security situation in Slovakia we cannot fail to mention those whose task is first of all to fight, to take care of our citizens' security; I mean the members of the national security corps. There are various discussions under way about their role, mission, and their future.

In the past, when I was minister of the interior, I promised them no screening would take place that would screen them from the point of view of their party membership, but that they would undergo a very strict screening by life itself to check how they care for our citizen's protection. They never had the right not to fulfill their duties. If there were such members among them, these people had to leave. Those who are lazy must leave. Those (?who cannot cope with their tasks) must leave. Those among them who devote themselves to wheeling-dealing activities have to leave.

This is the internal purge of the security forces which must help to strengthen their ranks. They will be tested by their work, the street, security situation in towns and districts. The national committees have the right to [word indistinct], all our citizens have the right to discuss the situation with them. I remember a discussion in Roznava during which the citizens and members of the security forces attempted to find a common view. The citizens promised to the security forces to support them and the security forces were on the other hand given the task to deal with the situation in the town speedily to improve the situation. A very nice idea was voiced there, one citizen said: We give you our trust but we are yours so do not let us down.

Esteemed members of security forces, citizens of the Slovak Republic are your citizens and you are responsible for their protection, so do not let them down. Your task is to protect them in such a way that mothers do not need to fear for their children; old people do not need to fear to live in their apartments; those physically weak do not need to fear walking in the streets. This is your mission and you must fulfill it.

As far as the conditions of work are concerned, we are going to improve them, we are going to increase the number of the members of the security forces. So far the government has taken a restrained stance because as the consequence of the former management there are 1,600 members of the security forces less in Slovakia than in Bohemia given the ratio per 10,000 citizens. This is why we resolutely ask that the Federal Interior Ministry corrects this mistake. If this mistake is corrected and the numbers are still not high enough, then the government will increase them, adjust them. There will be also need to change many things in the structures of the security forces, there will be a need to change a lot also in the Interior Ministry.

The Slovak Republic has full powers in this sphere but it has also full reponsibility now. This is why I also call on you, citizens, not to be irresponsible and indifferent regarding your security and to avoid also those things which besides wrongdoings make your life unpleasant; cruel words, insults, hatred, envy, pettiness. Be a bit better to each other. You can improve your life.

Group Angered by Threats to National Party Chief

LD2309215290 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 23 Sep 90

[Text] The Movement for Independent Slovakia issued a statement which notes this party's great indignation on hearing a report about an assassination threat to Vitazoslav Moric, chairman of the Slovak National Party. The movement sharply condemns the efforts of those extremist circles in Prague which are attempting to use terror against democracy.

The Movement of Independent Slovakia in its statement calls on the Federal Minister of Interior as well as the Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic to investigate, under the supervision of a commission set up by the Federal Assembly, the activities of the extremist organization Czech Lion [Cesky Lev] and inform our public about the results of the investigation.

Social Democrats Oppose Strike Limitations

LD2309175190 Prague CTK in English 1624 GMT 23 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 23 (CTK)—The Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party opposes the attempts to limit the right of workers to strike in an appeal to trade unions adopted at its fifth session here this weekend.

"We reject the views of the Czechoslovak minister of labour and social affairs Petr Miller that the right to a political strike is not justified at present. The Communists abolished this right with the same reasoning after they declared that the working class became leading", the statement said. Miller claims that at present, when a parliamentary system exists in Czechoslovakia, it is not necessary to assert political demands by means of strike.

The Executive Committee also dealt with the preparations of an electoral campaign before the November communal elections. The Social Democrats are not represented in the parliament after the June elections as they did not give more than five per cent of votes. The party was practically liquidated by its forcible merging with the Czechoslovak Communist Party in 1948 and renewed its activity as late as after the "Velvet" Revolution last November.

Slovak Premier Blames Romanies for 'Most Crimes'

LD2309180190 Prague CTK in English 1636 GMT 23 Sep 90

[Text] Bratislava Sept 23 (CTK)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar today criticized the unfavourable development of the security situation in Slovakia and called for reinforcement of police.

On television, he said that police lacks 2,600 men. He said that most crimes are committed by Romanies but stressed: "We cannot approach Romanies from the positions of hatred or racism." (During the former communist regime, Romanies were not recognized as a nationality but as an ethnic group with the aim to be integrated into that nationality on whose territory they lived).

The Slovak premier also said that "old structures" of the former regime establish pseudo-joint-stock companies. Transferring the state's property into them. The Slovak Ministry of Control has therefore got the task to "watch how several functionaries hurridly dilute the property of the state into 'old structures' and to prevent this and to dissolve such pseudo-joint-stock companies."

Jan Carnogursky Interviewed on Press Censorship

AU2109143690 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 14 Sep 90 p 4

[CTK Interview with Jan Carnogursky, Slovak Republic deputy premier, in Bratislava on 13 September: "Determining the Limits of Seriousness"]

[Text] The working meeting of prominent Czech, Moravian, and Slovak journalists continued in Modra-Harmonia yesterday. Jan Carnogursky, Slovak Republic deputy premier, granted CTK this interview:

[CTK] At the meetings between the three governments in Trencianske Teplice and Piestany, it was said that, as far as the passing on information about the other side is concerned, there is much room for improvement. Did the discussion bring any solutions to this problem?

[Carnogursky] The Czech and Slovak Republic finds itself in a situation of changing political and economic conditions and this is why it is necessary to make corrections to our mutual relations. Many of them appear to be conflicting. On the other hand, there is mutual interest in good relations, and this is why ways of retaining and strengthening these relations are being explored. In connection with the availability of information it is necessary to emphasize that some solutions that have been suggested are difficult to carry out from the economic point of view. For example, editorial staffs in the other republic can hardly be increased if there are no financial means for it. Another factor is the shortage of paper, or possibly its high price, which will make the existence of some dailies difficult.

[CTK] In connection with your person, and particularly because the communications media fall within your jurisdiction, it is often said that censorship will be reintroduced. What is your personal opinion about such means of suppression of liberties?

[Carnogursky] I have never said that censorship will be reintroduced. I said that there will be certain limits imposed on pornography. At this meeting journalists could be heard calling for the same thing. The reason is that pornography is a source of inadequate profits. Apparently, we will have to implement economic measures, like higher taxes on the gutter press, and redistribute the funds so acquired to the newspapers and magazines that do not indulge in sensational events. And, do not take me wrong, journalists themselves will help us to determine the limits of responsible behavior, or the level of obscenity. By imposing progressive taxes, the funds for supporting the socially desirable press—which is endangered—will be collected.

Havel Departs for Official Visit to Italy

LD2209085190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 22 Sep 90

[Text] President of the Republic Vaclav Havel and his wife departed today for an official visit to the Republic of Italy. According to the information provided by his press spokesman, Michal Zantovsky, Vaclav Havel will commence his visit to Italy on the island of Capri, where he will take part late this afternoon in a news conference where he will be awarded the Malaparte Prize for Literature, which will be handed to him tomorrow.

In Rome he will, among other things, meet Italian President Francesco Cossiga and Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti. Also planned is a visit to Pope John Paul II at his summer retreat of Castel Gandolfo. It is expected that the Czechoslovak president will also hold talks with representatives of Italian commercial and business circles.

Comments on International Relations

LD2309081190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0600 GMT 23 Sep 90

[Text] Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel arrived by air yesterday on an official visit to the Italian Republic. Accompanied by Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis, he left Naples for the island of Capri, where he is to receive the Malaparte Literary Prize today.

Addressing a news conference, Vaclav Havel said that he felt it a great honor to be awarded the prize. He also commented to newsmen on international relations, including the Persian Gulf crisis. The president said that about 200 men specializing in chemical weapons defense are being trained in our country, who could support the blockade of the Iraqi aggressor in Saudi Arabia.

On future relations between Czechoslovakia and the European Communities, Vaclav Havel said that we are striving to secure the earliest possible conclusion of a mutual agreement in the hope that in the future we will become a fully-fledged member of the Communities.

EC President Continues Meeting With Leaders

Meets With Calfa, Others 21 Sep

LD2109174790 Prague CTK in English 1637 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 21 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa informed here today President of the Commission of the European Communities Jacques Delors of the course of political and economic changes in Czechoslovakia aimed at full integration into the European Communities.

In the talks which followed up yesterday's meeting between Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and Jacques Delors, the EC president described the principles of common tax and budget policy of the Czechoslovak economic reform as the pillar of one state. He said that the forthcoming talks on an association agreement between Czechoslovakia and the European Communities, which should set the targets of changes in Czechoslovakia, are at the same time to confirm the irreversibility of the democratization process and transition towards a market economy in Czechoslovakia and thus create good conditions for the influx of foreign capital.

Accompanied by Marian Calfa, Jacques Delors went to Bratislava later today to meet with chairman of the Slovak National Council (Slovak parliament) Frantisek Miklosko and Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar. Miklosko appreciated the commitment of the chief of the Commission of the European Communities in asserting the idea of construction of a united Europe and its consistent political integration.

Jacques Delors said he could not imagine the visit to Czechoslovakia without seeing Bratislava as it is necessary to respect the principles of plurality. He appreciated the fact that Czechoslovak representatives follow moral ideas and principles while pursuing their policy. What revived the ideals of Europe immediately after World War II is a very simple idea: never more a war in Europe. Those who belong to the generation which experienced the war are pleased to see that no conflict occurred in the Central and Eastern parts of Europe for half a century, Delors said. He voiced the conviction that nations which live in this part of Europe will bring much to West Europe. While they admire West Europe's democratic system and its modern economy, West Europe admires a gust of freedom, energy and return to civic values of Central and East Europe.

After the talks, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar gave a luncheon in honor of Jacques Delors.

Holds Press Conference With Calfa

LD2109201790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] [Announcer] EC Commission President Jacques Delors was received in Prague today by Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa, who talked to him in detail about the progress of political and economic changes aimed at Czechoslovakia's full integration within the EC. Afterwards both men attended a press conference. Our Lubos Taraba reports:

[Taraba] After Delors briefly summed up the existing state of relations between the EC and Czechoslovakia, Marian Calfa took the floor. He drew attention to the basic conditions, which pave the way to Czechoslovakia's full integration with this grouping.

[Begin Calfa recording in Slovak] Czechoslovakia can become a part of this large European—and in my view, also a world grouping—only if it links its economic development with the democratic one, or vice-versa. This is because the EC has not only an economic, but also a political dimension. [end recording]

[Taraba] The prime minister said that Czechoslovakia is proceeding along the right course, and confirmed this by saying:

[Begin Calfa recording] If things go well it is possible to think realistically that the association agreement could be signed in the course of next year, even during the first half. [end recording]

[Taraba] This, of course, is an important step, but Czechoslovakia still has a long way to go before it becomes a full member of the EC. From this viewpoint it is therefore interesting how the West can help us to overcome our existing problems, especially in the economic area. It is of course self-evident that that which the Czechs and Slovaks must do for themselves, no one will do for them, Jacques Delors stressed. With regard to specific assistance, Mr. Delors went on to say:

[Begin Delors recording in French fading into Czech translation] I believe that such possibilities do exist.

These are not meant to be nice sounding words, because we are truly dealing with this matter. The agreement on cooperation has made it possible to raise the volume of mutual exchange of goods by 34 percent, which helps your country to increase its exports and thus to counter a shortage of foreign currency. This, however, is not enough. We have gone further in two areas:

First, in cooperation with the group of 24 advanced industrial countries. I believe that on the basis of our initiative, relevant decisions will be achieved concerning assistance to Czechoslovakia, whether it is a support for private enterprise, improving the quality of education, or with regard to agriculture, transport, and other areas. The group of 24 countries should make a decision on this on 30 October. I can tell you now that within the framework of this group we have already reserved $40 million to help Czechoslovakia to protect its environment.

Second, this concerns a European agreement, which should broaden the existing cooperation and coexistence. In the political areas this concerns regular foreign-political consultations between the EC and your Foreign Ministry. Furthermore, this concerns relations between the Czechoslovak and the European parliaments. Moreover, within the framework of the economic assistance we want to contribute to eliminating uncertainty among businessmen about Czechoslovakia's future. This European agreement—which I believe will be signed next year—will reduce this uncertainty and will contribute both toward encouraging reforms in Czechoslovakia and increasing the influx of funds and investements you need.

Previews EC-CSFR Relations

LD2109203190 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] EC Commission President Jacques Delors ended his talks in Prague today. Before leaving for Bratislava he gave a press conference at which he gave the assurance that the Community fully recognizes Czechoslovakia's place in the Europe of today and the future, stressing, however, that our country must harness all its human and natural resources to make up the gap which divides it from the advanced countries of Europe.

In an interview granted to Czechoslovak television, Jacques Delors replied to the question: How does the EC view the future Europe?

[Begin Delors recording in French, with superimposed Czech translation] First, the community of the Twelve does not have any monopoly on Europe. That is the first basic principle, which indicates that we see the other European countries as members of a family. The question is: How should that family be organized? Above all we must not be too hasty about the future of Europe. It would be good if, for the time being, we made use of the existing structures and, when the time comes, we then decide what other possibilities there are. What we must continually bear in mind, however, is that one day Europe will be a great space in which all the European countries will work together—assuming, of course, that no dramatic reversal takes place. Will that space for economic, cultural, and political cooperation have the form of the EC or will it take on the guise of a confederation? Anyone who could answer that question today would be extraordinarily clever. The main thing today is for the EC to support the process of democratization and modernization of the economy in Czechoslovakia, for the Community to assure Czechoslovakia that it has its place in the family of European nations, for the Community to strengthen its links with Czechoslovakia—and that is the essence of the future association agreement between our country and the Community.

When all that has been done, we will see what is the best shape for Europe—after all, we do not even know today whether all the European countries will want to integrate to the same extent. We know that in this respect there are differing views, even within the EC. Suffice it to recall our plans for the future—economic and monetary union, a unified currency, and deeper economic interaction—these are plans which I believe will make it possible to achieve better economic results. They will raise the standard of living of the member countries. Let us give these matters the necessary time.

For the time being, what I would like to say to all those who are watching Czechoslovak television at this moment is this: You are fully-fledged members of the European family; you have our solidarity, and together with us you will be the joint creators of a great Europe. [end recording]

Comments on CEMA Role

LD2109222690 Prague Television Service in Czech 2050 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Journalists attending a news conference before the departure for Bratislava of Jacques Delors, chairman of the European Communities Commission, given jointly with Federal Premier Marian Calfa, were told that the signing of an agreement of association between our Federal Republic and the European Community is to take place during the first six months of 1991.

Answering a question from Czechoslovak Television about whether the European Community has changed its view about the role of the CEMA, which it considered as recently as last spring to be the structure suitable for the economy of the Eastern European countries, Mr Delors said:

[Delors recording in French fading into Czech translation] During the past 40 years a certain division of labor between the Soviet Union and other CEMA member-states was achieved and this cannot be changed in one day.

This means that, although the Eastern European countries wish to diversify their foreign trade—something which is, of course, necessary—we advised them to maintain a certain level of their mutual trade relations (?within) the CEMA, perhaps in a new form.

Nevertheless, I have to point out that since then the situation has worsened significantly and that especially the Czechoslovak economy has paid for it. This is something which disturbs me. At the same time, there is a need to stress that it is not possible to demand that Czechoslovakia totally change the structure of its exports in one or two years. The collapse of CEMA or a change of rules within the CEMA—or, in fact, both, more likely—means one additional problem for the countries of Central Europe which wish to integrate and modernize their economies within the framework of the international economic order, specifically within the framework of the European economy. [end recording]

Views Cooperation; Ends Visit

LD2109190990 Prague CTK in English 1732 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Bratislava Sept 21 (CTK)—President of the Commission of the European Communities Jacques Delors told journalists here today that trade exchange between Czechoslovakia and the European Communities has increased by 30 to 40 per cent on the basis of the agreement on trade and cooperation of last May.

He said the European Communities are aware of Czechoslovakia's difficulties caused by a drop in exchange of goods with the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) member countries which earlier made up to 60 per cent of its total foreign turnover. Czechoslovakia cannot find similar markets within one to two years, Delors said. According to him, the EC want to grant Czechoslovakia assistance to help it carry out the democratic reform and modernize its economy. Thus uncertainty of several possible partners of Czechoslovakia as regards the country's future will be removed and all possible forms of cooperation and investments will be supported, Delors said, adding that every country with a democratic structure and open economy has the right to apply for membership of the European Communities.

Later today, Jacques Delors ended his visit to Czechoslovakia and left for Brussels.

Calfa, Meciar Comment on Talks With Delors

LD2109204690 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Before the beginning of a news conference, the premiers of the Federal and Slovak Goverments spoke about the visit by [EC Commission President] Mr. Delors. Premier Calfa was asked: What was the main interest of Mr. Delors in our country?

[Begin Calfa recording] During his visit, Mr. Delors showed an extraordinary live interest in what I would call three circles of problems. The first concerned our situation in the spheres of the democratization of life, our political system. What is our development in the field of political democracy? The second concerned economic reform, its progress, its possibilities; understandably also in the relation to the EC and to the world—the question of our compatibility with world economy, with world economic mechanisms. Regarding the third circle of problems, he was particularly interested in the solution of relations between the Federation and the republics. It is understandable that he paid extraordinary attention to this issue as he is the representative of an integration group.

I think that in all the three spheres and on all levels we gave him enough information to enable him to get a full picture. [end recording]

Vladimir Meciar also gave his views on the questions of coordination and work of the national and Federal governments in the context of our effort to join the EC.

[Begin Meciar recording] The question of coordination is rather simple, as the activities aimed abroad are and will be joint activities. We agreed to keep within the powers of the Federation the issues common for the entire state, as well as the issues of how the Czechoslovak economy, legal order, Czechoslovak norms, banking systems, and other forms of cooperation are to be linked to the world. Slovakia will fully respect these needs.

During our talks we also (?discussed) those issues which are specific for us. For instance, we asked for help in the process of the requalification of teachers who need to switch from teaching Russian to teaching other languages. We asked for help in the process of converting military industry factories. We asked for help in training our people in some Western companies. We discussed some questions which are linked to the exchange of experts. We touched on questions of the position of nations and national minorities in Europe, rights of minorities, understanding of collective as well as individual human rights. We also discussed a future project for Europe—after more Eastern bloc states with federal characteristics join Europe, what will be its attitude toward the republics within these federations? [end recording]

Calfa Meets With Belgian Crown Prince

LD2409192890 Prague CTK in English 1745 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 24 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa received here today Belgian Crown Prince Albert accompanied by Foreign Trade Minister Robert Urbain and the most prominent Belgian businessmen and entrepreneurs representing all sectors of the Belgian economy.

The meeting followed up the May meeting with Mr. Calfa in the Brussels seat of the Federation of Belgian Entrepreneurs.

Prince Albert said that the Belgian Government expects a rise in trade and economic cooperation with Czechoslovakia. The delegation wants to establish contacts with Czechoslovak partners and get information about new conditions that arise during the transition towards market economy.

On behalf of the Belgian Government, Prince Albert presented Marian Calfa the highest Belgian award, the Great Cross of the Crown Order, as an expression of appreciation of his extraordinary contribution to a quick renewal and development of traditionally close relations between the two countries.

Hungary's Jeszensky Comments Prior to Visit

AU2109181590 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 17 Sep 90 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszensky, by an unidentified reporter in Budapest; date not given: "Trustworthy Information"]

[Excerpts] Budapest—Geza Jeszensky, Hungarian foreign minister, will arrive in Bratislava today for an official visit. Prior to his departure, he received the Czechoslovak journalists accredited in Budapest and replied to their questions. [passage omitted]

[NARODNA OBRODA] Mr. Minister, in your last interview for NARODNA OBRODA you suggested that our governments negotiate without intermediaries and, thus, eliminate the risk of distorted information. A couple of days later you reacted to the tendentious, completely incorrect, and unfounded claim that Mr. Meciar considers the statements made by Miklos Duray to be the same fascist extremism as the opinions expressed by some representatives of the Slovak National Party. The Slovak premier did not speak about fascist extremes, but about outlandish views.

[Jeszensky] I only found out what Premier Meciar said from the Hungarian press. It was stated in the press—and you can verify this—that in the Slovak premier's opinion Mr. Duray has fascist views. It would please me very much if it were to become apparent that this was a deliberate or unintentional mistake. I am absolutely sure that Mr. Duray does not hold such views. However, from my point of view this is an internal Slovak matter. Similarly, I think the views expressed by Mr. Duray, whom I had the opportunity of getting to know, are not even outlandish.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Mr. Minister, in this case the issue is not whether we consider the views expressed by someone to be outlandish or not. I just wanted to be more accurate about the statement made by Mr. Meciar which I only know from the Slovak press and television. There was no mention of fascist extremism expressed by Mr. Duray and others.

[Jeszensky] I am very glad to hear this. However, I am not saying that extremism is the issue. It is not my role to consider whether the views expressed by some Slovak state officials are extreme or not.

GDR Envoy Ends Tour; Embassy Closure Planned

LD2109192590 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Robert Harencar, first deputy foreign minister, received Helmut Ziebart, the GDR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Czechoslovakia, today at the end of his tour of duty.

At the same time, the GDR gave notice of the termination of the activity of its embassy in Prague on the day of the GDR's accession to the FRG on 3 October 1990.

Validity of Treaties With FRG, GDR Stressed

LD2509091390 Prague CTK in English 0826 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Prague, Sept. 25 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry handed over in the past days a note to the FRG and GDR Embassies in Prague stressing that under common international law, the principle of continued validity of treaties applies in the event of merger of two sovereign states.

Valid remain also treaties concerning state borders and the border regime.

The embassies were conveyed a list of treaties and agreements which should remain valid after the unification of the two German states on October 3, 1990.

The Czechoslovak side proposed quick opening of talks at which the legal validity of the documents included in the list would be confirmed. Other agreements concluded between Czechoslovakia and the GDR will cease to be valid in consequence of the German unification.

Agreements With FRG, USSR Discussed at Trade Fair

AU2109130890 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 13 Sep 90 pp 1, 8

["ru and rs" signed report: "The Gates of the Engineering Fair Opened"]

[Text] Yesterday, Vaclav Vales, deputy premier of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, opened the 32d International Engineering Fair in Brno. This year the exhibition area of more than 116,000 square meters will include exhibits of 2,976 companies from 33 countries. This indicates that even now, when conditions are changing, the Brno engineering fair has a firm place in our economic life.

A number of important international talks were entered into on the first day of the fair. Miroslav Gregr, Czech Republic minister of engineering and the electrotechnical industry of the Czech Republic, and Jozef Belcak, the Slovak Republic minister of the economy, met with the Soviet delegation led by Boris Shakhnazarov, associate deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers responsible for general machine building. Direct cooperation between Czechoslovak and Soviet enterprises was discussed as well as export and import possibilities, and barter (compensation) trade in connection with the inability of many Soviet enterprises to pay.

The agreement on cooperation between the West German company Neoplan and our Karosa Vysoke Myto may be considered to be the most significant contract entered into by a CSFR and a foreign enterprise. According to an agreement, in 1991 Karosa is to produce a test run of 10 luxury double-decker buses (Sky-liner), and 50 in the following year. Production is to be stabilized at 100 buses annually. It is intended that the buses produced in Czechoslovakia will bear the name Karosa-Neoplan.

No Decision Made on Sale of Skoda Firm

AU2109154990

[Editorial Report] Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 14 September on page 4, under the title "Will Renault and Volvo Buy Skoda?" publishes a 300-word report on articles in the French dailies LE QUOTIDIEN and L'HUMANITE that write about the purchase of the Czechoslovak automobile company Skoda by Renault and Volvo as being matter of course. Both articles, according to the report, claim that the contract will be signed either during President Mitterrand's visit to the CSFR or at the beginning of October. According to HOSPODARSKE NOVINY, the basis for this claim is the presence in Mitterrand's entourage of Raymond Levy, general director of Renault, and Pehr Gullenham, his Volvo counterpart. The report also quotes LE QUOTIDIEN's praise for Skoda and concludes with a statement that the "triangle Renault-Volvo-Skoda would be a great success for French industry because, as is known, Skoda is the third largest company in the CSFR."

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 13 September on page 1, under the title "Skoda For Sale?" publishes a 50-word "zr"-signed report of an article in the Swedish newspaper GOTEBORGS POSTEN, which claims that the Volvo/Renault consortium is to conclude the purchase of Skoda in the very near future, and a 100-word "si"-signed response to these claims by Vaclav Koudelka, assistant to the director of the Automobile Cartel Skoda. According to Koudelka, "it is not true. The decision is still to be made."

GERMAN UNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: *Beginning 4 Oct, the German Unification Attachment to the West Europe DAILY REPORT as well as the GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC sections of the East Europe DAILY REPORT and the East Europe JPRS Report will cease publication. Also on that date, the FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY section of the West Europe DAILY REPORT will be renamed GERMANY. The GERMANY section of the West Europe DAILY REPORT will include the kind of material previously published under the FRG, GDR, and German Unification titles, as well as material previously found in the GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC sections of the East Europe JPRS Report.*

Minister Reichenbach Cleared of Stasi Allegations

LD2409170390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1504 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The accusations leveled against Klaus Reichenbach (CDU) [Christian Democratic Union], minister in the Prime Minister's Office, of working for the former Ministry of State Security are without "any foundation." Government spokesman Matthias Gehler said today that this was the result of an examination of the files by the parliament's investigating commission at Reichenbach's request and with the approval of the president of the People's Chamber.

The result was told to Minister Reichenbach today by the chairman of the GDR People's Chamber's investigating commission, Peter Hildebrand.

Diestel Fears Stasi Files Were Stolen, Sold

AU2409135590 Hamburg BILD AM SONNTAG in German 13 Sep 90 pp 4-5

[Interview with Interior Minister Peter-Michael Diestel by Helmut Boeger; place and date not given: "Minister Diestel: Former Agents Sold Stasi Files"]

[Text] [Boeger] As the minister responsible for dissolving the Stasi [State Security Service] system, do you know how many of your cabinet members were involved in Stasi activities in the past?

[Diestel] I read the number six in the press. Reichenbach, Eppelmann, and Pohl have filed complaints to protect themselves. However, it is difficult to defend oneself against such allegations. People who really worked for the Stasi cannot be members of the cabinet.

[Boeger] Why are you against free access to the Stasi files?

[Diestel] This would not only unleash a hurricane, it would be civil war, including beheadings and other forms of lynch law. People here would not endure it.

[Boeger] Mr. Diestel, there were rumors that you served as a frogman, or as a Stasi major....

[Diestel] Unfortunately, the word of honor was misused by Barschel and Schnur. So, how should one defend oneself in a credible manner? It is easy for me to prove that I never was a major, a full-time officer. The list of full-time employees of the Ministry for State Security [MfS] does not include my name. However, it is true that I was a lifeguard. As a soldier, I was in the artillery battalion—and not a frogman.

[Boeger] Has your past been thoroughly examined?

[Diestel] Yes, thoroughly, even before 18 March. Embarrassingly enough, there is no file on Diestel. Now I am as suspicious because there are 12 million people in the GDR for whom no files exist.

[Boeger] So, there must be about 4 million files.

[Diestel] Yes, about 4 million.

[Boeger] However, there are rumors concerning you personally....

[Diestel] Yes, I know about these rumors. Affidavits by obscure people to the effect that I took part in the interrogation of human rights activists as a state security officer are in circulation. There are not and cannot be any documents on this. However, apparently a lot of money can be made now for destroying Diestel's reputation. Such statements are being made in public shortly before provincial assembly elections. At a time when our courts no longer work, I cannot take legal steps. This is the real problem. This is a campaign a la Goebbels.

[Boeger] Does the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] play a role here?

[Diestel] No, certainly not. People who want to make money quickly are involved. At the moment, our problem in the GDR is that we must prove our innocence. This is not possible at present. So, anybody can become the victim of such a campaign aimed at character assassination. It can happen to Mr. Mueller, Meier, Schulze, or De Maiziere.

[Boeger] Do you consider it possible that former employees of the MfS removed files so that they can blackmail certain people?

[Diestel] Yes. At the moment, the trade in files is booming. Before I took office, an operation aimed at destroying files was launched. During this operation, evidence against many former agents disappeared.

[Boeger] If this is the case, people with a Stasi past might even join the Bundestag.

[Diestel] I cannot rule this out with 100-percent certainty—despite the examination of the 144 deputies who will go to Bonn.

[Boeger] The Intelligence Department of the MfS, which was headed by Markus Wolf, was considered to work in a highly professional manner. Do you fear that incriminating material that can be used for blackmailing West German politicians or economic officials was collected and removed?

[Diestel] Yes, there is a lot of explosive material that might be used to blackmail certain people. As far as I know, files have been compiled on about 2 million West German citizens. This certainly poses a great problem. For this reason, it is necessary to dissolve the security service and to neutralize the material.

[Boeger] Who will rule the present-day GDR after 3 October? It is not likely that the laender will function before next year.

[Diestel] You are broaching a subject which really worries me. I am concerned about internal security in the eastern part of Germany. There is a tendency toward anarchy—not only on the roads. It is a priority for me not to prematurely break up the tried and tested police apparatus. The number of policemen has been reduced from 155,000 to 116,000. This means that we no longer have a sufficient number of policemen.

[Boeger] Are you afraid that some kind of civil war might break out in the present-day GDR following unification?

[Diestel] Yes, I openly admit that I am afraid that some kind of civil war might break out in the east of Germany. For this reason, I constantly appeal to people's reason here. From the FRG I expect more sympathy and sensitivity concerning our efforts to come to terms with the past. One must not generally marginalize all former SED members, employees of the MfS, diplomats, and high-ranking officers.

[Boeger] Do you think an amnesty might help here?

[Diestel] Yes, it is urgently required for all GDR citizens who spied but did not commit any other crimes in doing so. FRG citizens who betrayed their country should be called to account. I have doubts as to whether they should be granted an amnesty. However, we should display the same degree of tolerance that our fathers showed when they did not marginalize all members of the National Socialist German Workers Party [NSDAP] after 1945. An FRG chancellor and president were former members of the NSDAP. Former SED members must now also be given the opportunity to become familiar with the new democracy.

Fischer on Stasi Files, Eppelmann's Ties

AU2409091790 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 19 Sep 90 p 3

[Interview with Werner Fischer, former government representative for the dissolution of the Ministry for State Security, by Michael Klonovsky and Erwin Jurtschitsch; place and date not given: "Eppelmann Is Completely Innocent"]

[Text] [DER MORGEN] Mr. Fischer, is the compromise on the Stasi [State Security Service] files acceptable?

[Fischer] I have heard conflicting reports on this. If that report should dominate according to which the archives remain in the laender, laender representatives are appointed, and every citizen has the right to read his file—while observing the rights of third persons—then I can answer the question with a yes. However, I have not heard a clear statement on the part of the FRG Government. I assume that this is a maneuver by Bonn in order that later on the files will be stored centrally and will be accessible to the Office for the Protection of the Constitution.

[DER MORGEN] How many Stasi employees and informers would enter the Bundestag under the current conditions?

[Fischer] I cannot give you a figure. This will have to be discovered by the investigating committee.

[DER MORGEN] Since when has the People's Chamber investigating committee known that men, such as Minister Steinberg, for instance, or others, have a Stasi past?

[Fischer] I do not know whether the investigating committee knew about the Steinberg case in particular. However, it does have a large amount of information on these problems. But the committee was not able to work, because it was grossly hindered by Interior Minister Diestel.

[DER MORGEN] There was great indignation when you published a specific name. Why did you do this?

[Fischer] In particular during the March-April period, in the course of my activities I received much information about the work of former Ministry for State Security employees in the People's Chamber. At that time, this made me request an investigation of the People's Chamber deputies. At that time, I did not give any names or participate in any speculation about the persons involved. Out of respect for this first freely elected parliament, I refrained from any remarks in this respect, assuming that the investigating committee would be doing professional work and the results would be published. This did not happen and could not happen because of the obstacles put up by the Interior Ministry. In view of the short time left to us until unification, I wanted to give a clear sign with my action—which does not necessarily correspond to my concept of political culture—so that the investigating committee is enabled to continue its investigations unhindered and as quickly as possible. I want to prevent the possibility that on 3 October, when this parliament ceases its work, there remains the blemish that it was undermined by the Stasi.

[DER MORGEN] How many names could you give?

[Fischer] I could give quite a few names, but I will not do so. It is now the task of the investigating committee to become active in this respect. It is the only body that is authorized and able to publish evidence. I had good reason to give one name, because in the case of Steinberg I am absolutely sure, 200-percent sure. I named Steinberg because he played a leading role in concluding the electricity contract with the FRG multinational companies, which is illegal.

[DER MORGEN] Thus, you think that the minister can be blackmailed?

[Fischer] I think he can be blackmailed; after all, it cannot be ruled out that certain people in these companies knew about his past. This was also the actual reason why I called for an investigation of the deputies as early as March. I did not want them to be susceptible to blackmail.

[DER MORGEN] Once more back to our first question: There have been a number of reports which mention the names of Steinberg and Eppelmann, and all the reports referred to you.

[Fischer] One could assume that this is a malicious campaign against me, aimed at calling into question my credibility. I never mentioned any other names. I consider it particularly outrageous to bring Eppelmann into the game, of whom I can say with the same certainty with which I accuse Steinberg, that he is completely innocent. We both are considering joint legal steps.

[DER MORGEN] What will you do if the names you know are not among those mentioned by the investigating committee by 3 October?

[Fischer] If this happens—though I am not hoping it does—I do not hope for—I will look for appropriate ways to take my information to that place where correspondingly consistent actions are taken.

[DER MORGEN] Which methods would you prefer for dealing with such cases?

[Fischer] I certainly support doing this in public. However, I would also agree if the cases were discussed in individual talks, as long as the persons in question do not have any chance of taking over political responsibility afterwards.

[DER MORGEN] What do you think: How long will the topic of the Stasi still keep the all-German parliament busy?

[Fischer] I think that this topic will keep us busy for a long time. The specific form will depend on the general social atmosphere and the willingness of former Stasi employees to face up to their past and to reveal themselves without fear. This presupposes that those who did not have anything to do with the Stasi give them the opportunity to do so. I have always called for the elimination of the mood of a pogrom, of this pointing the finger at others. Everyone in this society has to ask himself to what extent he himself contributed to the functioning of this system.

[DER MORGEN] Many people from the civil rights movement and from the committees and the hunger strikers on Normannestrasse demand that every citizen be able to read his files. Can one simply openly reveal the "private lives" of 6 million people? What do you think of the demand "To everyone his file"?

[Fischer] I am of two minds in this respect. On the one hand, I think that everyone must have the right to know what kind of information was collected about him. On the other hand, I know how highly explosive the material is that is stored there. I doubt whether everyone would be able to surpass himself to such an extent that he would be able to deal with this information decently. In view of the increasing social problems in this country, I think that some people are taking out their kitchen knives. Even though it is possible to cross out all names of third persons in the files, in individual cases the connections can often be retraced.

[DER MORGEN] When you look back at your work in dissolving the Stasi, what was your most important insight?

[Fischer] One thing is very important: An intelligence service—regardless of its kind—is superfluous. Every intelligence service needs an enemy image to legitimate itself. For the Stasi the enemies were the opposition members and—without making any dishonest comparisons—for the Office for the Protection of the Constitution the enemies are those with different political views. Pointing out that the Office for the Protection of the Constitution is supervised by parliament is nonsense. If this were done, it would no longer be an intelligence service.

Speculations on Stationing of Troops in Gulf

AU2409141690 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 21 Sep 90 p 5

["(PR)"-signed article: "Hungarian Troops To Help Settle the Gulf Crisis?—The United Nations Has Made No Request"]

[Text] At the Foreign Ministry, MAGYAR HIRLAP was told that the United Nations had not yet turned to Hungary with the request that Hungary should take part in, or support, the military action around Iraq.

At a news conference in the United States, Hungarian President Arpad Goncz said that Hungary was considering the possibility of military participation in the Gulf for the settlement of the crisis, perhaps by deploying an ambulance unit functioning under the aegis of the United Nations. We asked one of our Foreign Ministry experts about the details of such participation, and we were told that peace-keeping activities would only come into question if the parties affected by the conflict specifically asked the international organization for such action. The countries affected by the Iraq-Kuwait conflict have made no such request, so we have to seriously think about where we would send troops, and on what assignment.

Hungary politically supports the activities of the Security Council, and it applies the sanctions, even though this implies material losses and economic disadvantages for our country. If we want to go farther than that, we, of course, have the opportunity to join some humanitarian movement; however, the United Nations has made no request for us to send troops to the Gulf or to support military actions there. Furthermore, from the Hungarian side, we have not declared our readiness to undertake such actions, either.

Soviet Oil Deliveries End 18 Sep

LD2409110990 Budapest MTI in English 1010 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 24, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Soviet oil deliveries to Hungary grinded to a halt by 11 o'clock on September 18, the Hungarian National Oil and Gas Corporation (OKGT) announced on Monday.

That means a total of 220,000 tonnes of crude has arrived in Hungary from the Soviet Union this month, though even going on the reductions the Soviets announced earlier, deliveries for September should have been 296,000 tonnes.

The National Oil and Gas Corporation is constantly pressing for deliveries to be re-launched, since Hungary's reserves are already waning, but the Soviet partner has not responded as yet, OKGT officials said.

The OKGT also announced that according to the latest information, the Soviet Union is to cut back expected oil deliveries of 412,000 tonnes to Hungary in October to 315,000 tonnes.

In the meantime, the OKGT has commissioned the Hungarian firm Mineralimpex to invite oil and petrol quotations from 40 or so firms.

Hungary wishes to buy 150,000 tonnes of oil and 20,000 tonnes of petrol on the free market in October.

Later, the country will need to buy a total of 300,000 tonnes of oil in two shipments—one in early and one in late November—and 15,000 tonnes of petrol.

At its session last Thursday, the Hungarian Government added the purchase of 450,000 tonnes of oil and 35,000 tonnes of petrol to a total value of 150 million USD [U.S. dollars].

To date, Hungary was counting on Soviet oil deliveries being 5.092 million tonnes in 1990, instead of the originally-agreed 6.48 million million tonnes.

In the wake of the recent cutback announced for October, though, all this was changed: A total of 4.995 million tonnes are expected for the whole year.

The latest goverment session did not take this new development into account.

World Bank To Provide Extended Credit to Hungary

LD2509075290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] In the coming years Hungary will receive extended credit of $400 million on average from the World Bank. This was announced by the European director of the organization. He stressed that success for Eastern European reform can only be brought about by the internal efforts of the countries in the region, which cannot be replaced by external help. The European director of the World Bank called attention to the transition in the Central-Eastern European countries, saying it will be longer and more difficult than they thought, owing to the Gulf crisis.

Spanish Defense Minister Serra Pays Visit

Notes Intention To Remain in NATO

LD2409194390 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Report on interview with Spanish Defense Minister Narcis Serra by unidentified reporter at the Ministry of Defense; date not given—recorded; Serra speaks in Spanish with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Excerpts] Narcis Serra, Spain's 46-year-old minister of defense and Socialist Party member, is the third from among the defense ministers of the NATO member countries to come to our country. He was received by [Hungarian Defense Minister] Lajos Fur in the Ministry of Defense, who had previously been visited by the Belgian and FRG defense ministers. [passage omitted] The country's Army does not take part in large NATO military exercises, not even at the level of general staff. That is, they follow the French example and are only loosely linked to the organization.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Now that the Warsaw Pact is disintegrating, is it conceivable that this link might be severed?

[Serra] The Atlantic alliance currently plays the role of a stabilizing force in Europe, and as such it is necessary; therefore, we do not intend to leave it. The Spanish Armed Forces are under the country's command; they only coordinate their tasks with NATO. I, at the same time, would like to emphasize what is unique: We entered the organization not through a government decision, but through a referendum.

Begins Talks With Lajos Fur

LD2409224190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Gyorgy Mika report]

[Text] The Spanish defense minister is holding talks in Budapest. The Hungarian delegation came to the first meeting of the Hungarian and Spanish defense ministers with a series of proposals. Lajos Fur proposed that the two countries raise the level of their military diplomatic relations. In specific terms, this would mean that in the future military and air attaches would work at the Spanish Embassy in Budapest and at the Hungarian Embassy in Madrid.

Spanish Defense Minister Narcis Serra said he considers the Hungarian proposal to be good, adding that in this matter the final decision has to be made by the Spanish parliament, but he indicated that approval is not in doubt.

The Hungarian side also proposed that military visits at ministerial, state secretary, and chiefs of staff level should be made regular.

At today's talks, again at the Hungarians' initiative, they also discussed exchanges between military students, doctors, and artistic and sports delegations.

MTI Cites Antall's LE FIGARO Interview

LD2409110190 Budapest MTI in English 1030 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Paris, September 24 (MTI)—The Monday [24 Sep] issue of "LE FIGARO" carries an interview with Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, who is scheduled to arrive in Paris on Monday afternoon, and deliver a speech to senior businessmen and politicians. On Tuesday, Antall is to hold talks with Prime Minister Michel Rocard and leaders of right-wing French [word indistinct] namely Jacques Chirac, president of the Rassemblement Pour La Republique (RPR) [Rally for the Republic], Valery Giscard D'Estaing, president of the Union Pour La Democratie Francaise (UDF) [Union for French Democracy].

Concerning Hungary's foreign policy and economy ambitions, Antall referred [to] the opportunities offered by [the] Pentagonale['s] cooperation, and emphasized the goal of becoming an integral part of Europe. He said Hungary's relations with the united Germany would by no means decrease its ties with France. "Although economic relations with Germany will always be of essential importance, we want to preserve a kind of balance. I wish to make an appeal to French investors, inviting them to take part in our privatization programme."

Antall reaffirmed that Hungary would withdraw its army from the Warsaw Treaty, and, leave the organization [words indistinct] latest, even if the WTO [Warsaw Treaty Organization] were to survive. The Soviet Union, as a neighbour of Hungary, should play an important role in Hungary's foreign policy, he said. "Now we are dealing with a different Soviet Union...and we must keep honourable, egalitarian ties with her," the prime minister said.

Antall emphasized that it would not help Hungary to declare its neutrality since such a step could prevent even its very access to the EEC. "We wish to take part in the European security system", he said.

Antall stressed that Atlantic thinking should be extended in parallel with European thinking. He added that the existence of NATO should not be challenged. Hungary's admission to NATO, however, is not on the agenda, he said.

Hungarian, SFRY Army Chiefs Meet on Border

LD2209174190 Budapest MTI in English 1626 GMT 22 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 22 (MTI)—Colonel General Blagoye Ajich, chief of staff of the armed forces of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and Lieutenant General Laszlo Borsits, chief of staff of the Hungarian Army, held a border-zone meeting on Saturday.

They reviewed the state and prospects of cooperation between the two armies in the light of military confidence- and security- promoting tasks related to the further development of good-neighbourly relations.

Prime Minister Antall Interviewed on Election

LD2309225790 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 23 Sep 90

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by unidentified reporter on "The Week" program in television studio on 23 September—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Reporter] I could say that the political atmosphere is very tense and that, at the moment, the country is not characterized by civilized election preparations. Welcome to "The Week" studio. Rumor has it that in Szeged you were not allowed to continue your speech.

[Antall] Well, rarely am I silenced, and it did not happen this time either. This is a completely false interpretation. Luckily, this rally had many hundreds of listeners, and several hundred participants can testify to what happened.

[Reporter] Well, people say this is democracy.

[Antall] I was not offended at all, there is nothing to be offended by in this case, because we can honestly say that the situation of young people in general is not pleasant, but neither is the situation in the country. Thus, one must consider it natural that they are dissatisfied, and it also has to be considered natural that the young people want to voice their wishes.

[Reporter] Do you consider their discontent justified? That is, do you consider that the protests and demonstrations directed against the government are justifiable?

[Antall] I do not consider them reasonable; however, they are understandable. Today, the entire country is dissatisfied with its standard of living and its income, and rightly so; however, it is not objective when it calls the present government to account regarding all this.

[Reporter] I think that those who keep sending off these political fireworks, those who scold the underlying tension, do not consider that in reality democracy will be threatened.

[Antall] Parliamentary debate and sharp political polemics are natural features of parliamentary life. Public opinion must become accustomed to this, otherwise there is no freedom of speech, freedom of the press, or democracy if clashes do not occur. I consider it quite right that there should be lively political debate; there should be analysis and strong criticism. This is not the problem. The problem is that this should be objective. Furthermore, the point is when there are tensions like this on certain questions, there should not be unfair subjective voicing of opinion which may anger the population or create doubts. It is entirely unjustifiable, and it is known by everybody that the government cannot manage from anything else but the voted budget. At the same time, the government is being attacked by people saying that it supports certain groups without any security. This is not true; however, the government believes that it should pay out more. It is quite obvious, however, that from the given budget no more money can be given to certain groups than what is at the government's disposal.

[Reporter] You have been on an electioneering tour for days, and this in fact is compatible with your post. In your speech today, however, you called attention to the danger that there are certain forces which try to use the posts of public dignity for electioneering purposes.

[Antall] First of all, I would like to make a small correction. I have not been participating in the election campaign for days, only on Saturday and Sunday. The prime minister, who is the president of a party, is also a party politician. Thus, I, as the prime minster—the same as any other head of government—must participate when my own political party and my own coalition partners enter the local government elections; we also have to argue our case. What I was talking about referred to the fact that in Hungary, the post of the president of the Republic is a public office beyond any party, which is occupied by Arpad Goncz, who is suitable for this post. He is an honored politician and writer with a creditworthy career, and no one should use this public dignity and mix it into everyday politics. Furthermore, no one should attempt to use him in the interest of everyday politics.

[Reporter] I, of course, was not thinking of Arpad Goncz, but the office of the president of the Republic is such a high-ranking function. I can safely say that the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum]—when there was the debate surrounding the president of the Republic last year, when the Constitution was being formulated—was one of those fighting so that the office of the president of the Republic is a respected state office generating the authority a country needs. It must be given great authority, in accordance with Hungarian traditions. This means that the government governs, and the president of the Republic, who stands at the head of the country above the parties, should represent the country. Because this is a parliamentary democracy, and with the countersignature of the government that is responsible to the parliament, he should exercise power as head of state. These are powers which, in accordance with the policy of the government, with the exception of those rights—I do not like the word licenses—the Hungarian Constitution ensures separately for the president of the Republic.

I consider it incorrect that party politicians and parties try to use the person of the president of the Republic in party struggles, not to speak of during local authority elections. I consider it simply absurd if they mix him up in party political battles, and if they create situations forcing him to take a stance in daily political questions. We must protect the office of the president of the Republic, of that high-ranking public dignity, for which we, too, fought at the roundtable negotiations. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] After all this, what is your opinion on the country's stability?

[Antall] I think that all the conditions for stability exist. There is a 60-percent government majority in the parliament. There is an opposition of nearly 40 percent made up of three political parties. This means every condition exists—we have the best conditions for it out of all the former communist countries—for there to be a strong government coalition and a strong opposition. This is the condition for it to operate well. So, the conditions exist; however, one must know how to make use of the conditions. If it is not a party political struggle—in the European sense—which happens in parliament, or in the self-government sphere, but if a kind of tribal warfare rages in the country, with all its dangers and negative characteristics, it will be an impossible situation. We cannot take those passions, all those grievances which were stifled over the long decades, into active political life, into governing the country, into parliamentary life. These can be tolerated in individual circles of intellectual life, but are not suitable in the grave situation of the country, to be part of professional politics.

[Reporter] Thank you very much for the conversation.

Free Democrats Dissociate From Forum's Leaflets

LD2409221590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] The chairman of the alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] dissociates himself from those who, at the party's gathering staged in Budapest's 11th district, spread tasteless leaflets against the prime minister. Janos Kis, in his reply letter addressed to the prime minister, also writes that the poster had originally been distributed on the street, and it was shown in the room so that it should be brought to the attention of those present that the Free Democrats had nothing to do with it.

At the same time, the SZDSZ chairman recalls that at the time of the National Assembly election campaign, the chairman of the Democratic Forum did not dissociate himself from those who spread the leaflet entitled "Fathers and Sons," which was slanderous to the leaders of SZDSZ.

Former Domestic Intelligence Policy Analyzed

AU2509094990 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 19 Sep 90 p 5

[Interview with parliamentary Deputy Ferenc Koszeg by Janos Desi; place and date not given: "Top Secret Officials and the Network—To Be an Informer Is a Dirty Business"]

[Text] Following the draft bill proposed by the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], there is much talk of our domestic intelligence, once again. First of all, we asked Ferenc Koszeg to define some terms for us.

[Koszeg] I am a specialist in spite of myself. I was followed for a long time, but at the time, I did not know the official name of the people who were following me, nor the section of the Interior Ministry to which they belonged. Much was revealed to me during the Dunagate affair [bugging of opposition parties' phones, headquarters, etc. by the Socialist Workers Party]; furthermore, as a member of the parliamentary committee on national security, I see things more and more clearly, but I cannot guarantee that all my answers will be entirely accurate.

Informers—Doing Voluntary Work

[Desi] Let us start with the definitions. What is an SZT official?

[Koszeg] SZT stands for top secret official [Szigoruan titkos tiszt]. The top secret official was employed by the Interior Ministry; however, he did not work in the ministry, but in a company or institution. In general, he was not a chief executive officer, but he did hold an important post—deputy chief, or head of personnel, for example. His salary came from his place of employment, but if it was less than the sum he would have been paid by the Interior Ministry, then the ministry would make up the difference.

[Desi] Did these officials have ranks? For example, could the director of a book publishing company have been an undercover major?

[Koszeg] That is plausible, because they were given ranks.

[Desi] To what institutions were the top secret officials sent? What criteria determined their post, and who made these decisions?

[Koszeg] The national security office made the decisions. As far as I know, most of the top secret officials worked in counterespionage, in Section III/2, and they were placed mostly in foreign trade companies of strategic importance. Their duty was to discover any possible activities to do with enemy intelligence, or dissident opinions. There were some officials who worked abroad, in foreign affairs or foreign trade enterprises. Only a relatively small number of top secret officials were posted in places which were considered important for our domestic intelligence, such as cultural establishments.

They Frightened Them a Little Bit

[Desi] It was not only top secret officials who were planted, there was also the so-called network.

[Koszeg] The network consisted of civilians who had somehow been recruited. Their duty was to report things that they had learned about in their own surroundings and which might be interesting. Network members were not paid; at the most, if their superiors were content with their work, they would receive some reward, but as far as I know, that was not too much money.

[Desi] How did the Interior Ministry lure the civilians into being informers?

[Koszeg] How they convinced them to be informers, and how they prevented them from leaving the network is also a mystery to me. Planted network members also dealt with criminals. In those circles, there are often criminals, or people closely connected to criminals, who agree to become informers in exchange for some favor. In the political national security office the ministry looked for people who, through their natural connections, had access to the places that the office wanted to investigate. One of the main recruitment areas was the Army. Interior Ministry officials went out to the young men before the end of their service, and approached the soldiers who were reportedly open to suggestion. Young men who were in trouble were particularly easy targets for recruitment—because of drunken driving, for example, or something that they would rather forget about.... A liaison official of the Interior Ministry regularly visited and collected information from institutions that were important from the ministry's point of view. He looked through the files of the students who had just started college or university, and then he selected. This meant that the personnel offices were collaborating with him. There was no law stipulating that the files had to be shown to the liaison official, but he could look into them everywhere, because that was current practice. This was still happening in 1989. Those people who had been chosen were invited to a cafe. The official told them what he knew about them, and he frightened them a little bit by mentioning the difficulties they would encounter if they refused to collaborate. Then he made them sign a statement. After that, they met regularly, and the recruited members submitted written and oral reports.

[Desi] Is it possible to find out how many top secret officials were milling around us, and how many people were successfully recruited by the network?

[Koszeg] There must have been about 1,500 top secret officials, and 300 or 400 of them worked in domestic intelligence. I have no idea about the number of network members.

[Desi] To whom does the SZDSZ draft bill refer; all top secret officials, or only those who worked in domestic intelligence?

[Koszeg] The proposal was intended for the people who worked in domestic intelligence, first of all, although, at the time of the one-party state, it was difficult to make a distinction between these areas.

What Does the KGB Know?

[Desi] Rumors have it that lists of the agents have appeared, and that some people—even from the good old days—have this information. Some people think it is possible that our intelligence service has distributed false lists in order to confuse people.

[Koszeg] I do not think that real, authentic lists are being circulated. In fact, there could not even have been any lists, given that everything functioned according to strict conspiratorial rules. Even within the Interior Ministry apparatus, everyone only knew their own man. As far as I know, however, there are central Interior Ministry files through which the members of the network can be identified. There is a system of index cards where details of network members are filed. It is, of course, impossible to know what is true and what is deliberate misinformation in these documents. The dossiers that contained the signed statements made by network members when they agreed to take on their assignment were destroyed. That is why it is possible that false cards have been printed, and that people who really have nothing to do with the whole thing have been listed as network members. A correct procedure, however, would allow us to prove the truth if someone had been inaccurately placed on the list; naturally, many people are uncertain. There were numerous places of work where a document had to be signed, stating that any compromise of state secrets would be reported. I do not think that such a document could possibly be mistaken for the statements signed by network members. Naturally, we think that the details on network members should not be made public. This whole affair will come to an end when nobody wants to document these things anymore, that is, when there are no more organizations that collect information against people for political reasons. The demand that former agents should not become ministers, representatives, or mayors is justified. Not because they served the party-state, but because being an informer is a dirty business.

[Desi] Is it not possible that foreign intelligence agencies, such as the KGB, have received information about network members, and that they might try to use blackmail?

[Koszeg] That could happen. It is also noteworthy that the destruction of documents happened in roughly the same way, and at the same time, in Czechoslovakia and in the GDR; it may be that it was centrally organized. The KGB's finger may be in the pie, and information may have reached the organization; however, it is impossible to know what information they may have received. It is common knowledge that the KGB had an office in the Interior Ministry building until August 1989, so relations were close.

Further on Walesa's Candidacy for President

Speaks About Future Plans

AU2509081890 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Sep 90 pp 1, 2

[Alicja Bolinska report: "Cleaning Up Warsaw"]

[Text] Until such time as genuinely free elections are held in Poland, "Solidarity" as a movement has the moral right to influence the situation in Poland. This is the basis on which Walesa is running for president in Poland. He made his decision public the day before the meeting with Cardinal Glemp, to make it clear that this decision was not the result of some covert deal.

That is how the "Solidarity" chairman explained his latest decisions at a news conference at the oil refinery in Gdansk on 20 September. At the start of the conference, the chairman of the "Solidarity" factory committee read a stance supporting Walesa's presidential candidacy.

Answering questions from journalists and workers, L. Walesa said he would present a complete election program when the legal-formal conditions for a presidential campaign have been fulfilled and when it becomes possible for him to present a presidential concept somewhat different to the ones presently being considered.

Lech Walesa did not present any election calendar of his own. Asked whether the results of the latest surveys, revealing that Mazowiecki has greater chances of success, do not compel him to present such a program, Walesa replied that the results of such surveys have never been significant. He said that personally he would not like to fight inside his own ranks, but sooner or later someone is bound to declare war.

Lech Walesa welcomed General Jaruzelski's declaration that he would resign. Speaking about his own work so far, he justified it by the need to constantly update the situation in Poland. Thus, for want of any other political initiatives, the building of democracy demanded a split within "Solidarity." He said that he possesses greater understanding for the Center Accord, and that it is high time everyone began to build Poland. Therefore he himself would now tour the country in order to acquaint himself with the views and interests of various social groups, and so that he can look everyone boldly in the face.

Asked whether he would take firm action against the present activities of the former nomenklatura if he became president, Walesa replied that just as one cannot apply the principle of collective responsibility, one cannot surrender everything that has been misappropriated in the past. For this reason, Warsaw has to be "cleaned up" a little. A POLITYKA reporter asked whether Gdansk would become the capital of Poland. Not the capital of Poland, but the capital of the EEC, was Walesa's reply. He also rejected the accusation that the Poles lack political culture, saying that we are more cultural than the upbringing we received.

RZECZPOSPOLITA asked about the Polish Peasant Party's [PSL] exit from the government coalition and Walesa's impression of the 18 September meeting with Primate Glemp. He said that the PSL has quit the coalition prematurely; it does not have any political base. As far as the Warsaw meeting is concerned, it took place in a cultural climate, though everyone did adhere to his own stance.

Views Role of Solidarity, Germany

AU2509125190 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 25 Sep 90 p 5

[Hans Juergensen report: "Walesa Wants Market Economy and Pluralism"]

[Text] Gdansk, 24 September—He will run for the presidential elections on 3 October, and many Poles think that he has good chances of winning: Lech Walesa is convinced that he is once again needed in a leading position in his country in the "struggle for freedom and democracy." If he is elected president, he does not want to limit himself to a representative role—like the current president—but to influence the further reforms in Poland in an essential way, as he unambiguously stated in an interview in Gdansk. It is his supreme goal to eliminate the existing remnants of the communist system, that is, to replace the representative of the old regime who is still in office at the head of the state and to fill the political vacuum that was left behind by the Communist Party after its dissolution. Therefore, it would be desirable if a new parliament were to be elected together with the new president. However, this is not possible because the current parliament still has many important laws to pass before it can be dissolved. He thinks that the political role of Solidarity is over. Before the next elections he will demand that it be dissolved or restricted to the role of a trade union. He is for political pluralism. The monopoly of the party must not exist any longer. Therefore, he now must accept trouble with his former friends and fellow-fighters.

Prime Minister Mazowiecki, who owes his office to him, Walesa, has achieved much but has not done enough for the Poles in emotional terms. Walesa is not irritated by the accusation that he is a populist and pursues policy with emotions. "A good president has to do something together with the people." Someone has to keep the great dissatisfaction among the population in check. He does not imagine that the unemotional intellectual Mazowiecki can do this; only he can do this. Mazowiecki has not "reached" the masses. He is asked why he recently told the shipyard workers in Gdansk, who were on strike again, that he was ashamed that the government has not done anything for them even though he himself cannot offer them anything, either. "One must see my role," he says, asking for understanding. This was the fifth strike this year. Four of these strikes he covered up. In the case of the fifth this was no longer possible. The strikers already had the car ready for him to get rid of him. "I would have been blown away." In such situations it must be possible to use unusual means to prevent an explosion. With a mischievous smile he adds that he can certainly imagine fruitful cooperation between his former fellow-fighter and current main opponent Mazowiecki and the future President Walesa, if Mazowiecki were to confine himself to the role that fits him.

"I have to go with the majority, I have to lead the majority." The problem is the unprofitable large enterprises. The industrial burden left by communism, the mining enterprises in Katowice and Krakow, for instance, which were built for political reasons and will never work on a profitable basis, cannot be removed from one day to the next. At some time, these enterprises will be turned into museums of Marxism-Leninism, but the reduction of jobs will have to go hand in hand with the establishment of new jobs in trade, the service sector, tourism, and the newly developing medium-sized industry. "It is impossible in our country to dismiss 60,000 people all at once."

Once started, Walesa's flow of words can hardly be stopped. His thoughts jump to and fro. Many sentences remain unfinished. The interpreter sometimes has difficulty finding a theme in the mass of words. Walesa wants to get on well with the Germans, whether or not he loves them. He does not hide the fact that he had expected more aid from the Germans, practical cooperation, not loans. The "lick of paint" [farbe] that was destined for Poland is now ending up in the GDR, he says regretfully. But he understands the Germans.

The GDR is a child that will give rise to many worries in the future. The rapid changes in the entire east bloc have messed up the Polish schedule. In Poland it was assumed that communism in the Soviet Union would survive longer and that Poland would thus play a special role for a longer period. Walesa fears that Poland's importance for the Germans has changed as a result of the new situation: "You no longer need us."

He does not say this as clearly as this, but it is obvious what he means: Now the GDR, the unloved neighbor in the West, and the Soviet Union, the unloved neighbor in the East, will have priority in getting that aid from the FRG which Poland had hoped to receive. It remains unclear what specifically he intends to do differently from his rival Mazowiecki, if he becomes president. He has a plan, but he will reveal that plan only during the election campaign. He wants to stick to a "very tough market economy." The role of president will certainly not be comfortable. As a private person with an international reputation he could certainly live a more pleasant life. "My goal, my task is Poland."

Solidarity Unionists Back Candidacy

LD2409205490 Warsaw PAP in English 1838 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Gdansk, Sept. 24—Lech Walesa met here today with representatives of the National Alliance of Solidarity factory commissions grouping union's chapters from several large enterprises throughout Poland. The unionists firmly supported the candidature of Lech Walesa for the president of Poland.

The Solidarity leader was acquainted with the problems of unionists and assured them of his assistance and support for their initiative aimed at maintaining the unity of the Solidarity movement and at stabilizing the economic situation in Poland.

Lech Walesa accepted an invitation to a meeting with representatives of the National Alliance of Factory Commissions to be held in the Warsaw steelworks on October 9.

Two Parties Support Mazowiecki Presidency Bid

LD2409113190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 22 Sep 90

[Excerpt] Tadeusz Mazowiecki will run for president of the Polish Republic.

Two parties have granted him their support: Citizens Movement Democratic Action [ROAD] and Forum of the Democratic Right. Both groups expressed their satisfaction based on the fact that the presidential election would be held this year. [passage omitted]

Newspaper Editor Enters Presidential Campaign

LD2409193490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Waldemar Trajdos, editor of the Lodz GLOS NARODOWY, has handed us a statement in which he reports, I quote: In view of provacative statements made on television by Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa and by people belonging to the prime minister's retinue to the effect that the battle for presidential office will be played out without the participation of third parties, I have decided to take up the fight in the race for this office, as the third party. During the elections I will represent the so-called electoral bloc of the nonaligned, Waldemar Trajdos states.

Socialist Party Comments on Presidential Office

LD2409183190 Warsaw PAP in English 1553 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 24—The chief council of the Polish Socialist Party [PPS] expressed concern about the course of the parliamentary debate on the presidential office in a statement that reads:

"Wojciech Jaruzelski can no longer perform the function. But meanwhile we see no possibility to choose among candidates for president without knowing what competences a future constitution of Poland will give to the office. It would hit at the foundations of democracy.

"Neither do we accept the right of the present, undemocratically elected parliament to adopt a new constitution.

"We think that it is necessary for Wojciech Jaruzelski to vacate the presidential post, and in the transitional period, until a new parliament adopts [a] constitution, the function of the president should be performed by Poland's president in exile, or the president's powers should be vested for this period with a collective body composed, for instance, of the Sejm (lower house), Senate speakers, and the first president of the Supreme Court."

Poll Results on Presidency, Economy, Parties

AU2109200590 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Sep 90 p 2

["J.R."-signed report: "Public Opinion Research Center Findings: If Elections Were To Be Held in September"]

[Text] If presidential elections were to be held in September almost two-thirds of those polled would vote. Almost half would vote for Mazowiecki, and somewhat over one-third would vote for Walesa. The 15 percent of "do not knows" can be expected to tip the balance.

More than nine-tenths consider the economic situation to be poor or bad, and only a few consider it to be good or very good. This assessment has not altered from January to September. One-fifth is of the opinion that one can expect an improvement in four or more years, and only one-tenth believes that it is already improving. Asked whether the standard of living will improve over the next three years, 44 percent said that it would, one-fourth said that it would remain unchanged, and one-fifth said that it would deteriorate.

Confidence in the Catholic Church has remained high since January. The church is followed by the government, the Senate, the Sejm, "Solidarity," the citizens committees, and the National Trade Union Confederation.

One-fifth is of the opinion that W. Jaruzelski should remain president until the end of his term of office, 40 percent is of the opinion that the elections should take place as quickly as possible, that is, before the end of this year, and one-third is in favor of elections being held next year. The general view is that the president should be elected by all citizens.

Almost half of those polled did not know that the Center Accord and ROAD [Citizens Movement Democratic Action] had appeared on the political scene, and only a few percent were familiar with their programs and supported them. However, more than one-third had heard of the groupings, but were not familiar with their programs.

One-fifth is of the opinion that the present parliament should complete its term of office, almost one-third were in favor of having elections this year, and 40 percent wanted elections to be held in a year's time.

Sejm Discusses Timetable for Political Changes

AU2409132190 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Sep 90 pp 1, 2

[Krzysztof Gotterman report: "Presidential Election on 18 November?"]

[Text] The eagerly-awaited 30th plenary session of the 10th Sejm commenced on Thursday morning. It discussed a timetable for the forthcoming political changes.

However, as time went by, the interest diminished. When after the lunch break one deputy moved that the list of floor speakers be closed, it turned out that there was no quorum with which to pass this motion.

Nevertheless, the first half of the debate contained dramatic moments and was not devoid of political attacks that are customary in an election campaign. This applies especially to the chairmen of two large deputies clubs—Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz, chairman of the Parliamentary Club of the Democratic Left; and Jozef Zych, chairman of the Polish Peasant Party's [PSL] Deputies Club. Cimoszewicz commenced his speech by praising the government: "The year that has elapsed since the formation of the Mazowiecki government has brought changes to Poland that are unusual in their scale. Thinking in terms of us against them, a long-lasting barrier dividing the governors from the governed, has diminished. The basis for tidying up the economy and the market has been created, political reforms have progressed, and major initiatives in foreign policy have been put forward." But then he changed his tone completely: "There is a danger of a major social conflict in entire branches of industry, especially the textile industry.... Many intelligentsia circles are silent, disturbed by the closure of work places and loss of jobs. Instead of hopes, Poland is beginning to be ruled by fears."

Jozef Zych spoke on a similar vein. First he praised the government, but then he to launched an attack.

Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Citizens Parliamentary Club [OKP], reacted to these speeches. "If you gentlemen want to place the Mazowiecki government on trial during this debate, first you have to establish the reason for the situation in which 40 million Poles have found themselves. We are not holding anyone to account because we believe we can also expect some responsibility from you for the country's affairs. If this responsibility is not forthcoming, then we too have questions to ask. We will not forget the questions."

Opening the debate, Sejm Marshal Mikolaj Kozakiewicz officially announced President Jaruzelski's legislative initiative to amend that part of the constitution dealing with the election of president. This amendment allows the current president to shorten his tenure and surrender to a new president who has been chosen in a general election. Jaruzelski had written: "I accept with understanding the idea of abandoning the election of president by the National Assembly in favor of having him elected in a general election, as an outcome of the process of democratizing the state."

According to the provisions of the draft amendment, the views of most deputies, and unofficial reports from the President's Chancellery, one can expect the first round of the presidential election to take place as early as 18 November.

In accordance with the agenda that had been prepared previously, the deputies were given copies of the draft legislation connected with the amendment to the constitution and the presidential and parliamentary election. Henryk Michalek from the OKP presented two bills, one on an amendment to the constitution, and one on the election of president. The latter bill makes every Polish citizen above the age of 18 eligible to vote in an election, including people who have dual citizenship and stateless persons who have lived in Poland for at least five years. Candidates may be nominated by political parties, party federations, social and political movements, and groups of citizens. Nominations should be supported by anything from three to 300 signatures; there are three possible variants concerning the exact number.

The draft legislation calls for the appointment of an apolitical election commission which, at central level, would consist of judges from the Supreme Court, Constitutional Tribunal, and Supreme Administrative Court.

Debates on who is to adopt the new Constitution and when are going on in the Sejm, Senate, and every deputies club. The Sejm Constitutional Commission, chaired by Bronislaw Geremek, has suggested that the National Assembly adopt the new Constitution. A bill presented by Hanna Suchocka calls for a new constitution to be approved in a national referendum, to be held together with the next parliamentary election.

Deputies Aleksander Luczak from the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and Henryk Michalak from the OKP presented two partially different draft sets of election rules to the Sejm. The PSL draft calls for proportional representation, in other words a distribution of seats reflecting the structure of votes for various lists, whereas the OKP draft envisages a mixed representation whereby each voter would cast two votes, one for a candidate chosen in a single-seat constituency, and one for a candidate chosen in a multiple-seat constituency.

During a break in the Sejm talks, OKP Chairman B. Geremek said that despite the differences, there is a chance of reaching a consensus on the issue of election rules.

Almost every deputy favored the holding of the presidential election as quickly as possible and the postponement of parliamentary elections until next year. Similarly, almost every deputy, especially those representing smaller parties, favored an election system based on proportional representation.

The second day of the Sejm session is on Friday, when the draft legislation will be placed before parliamentary commissions. The next Sejm session, at which this legislation will receive its second reading, will probably take place in 1 week's time. Also on Friday, 21 September, a resolution on a provisional date for the dissolution of the Sejm and presidential elections, will probably be passed.

Kaczynski Interviewed on 'Solidarity,' Walesa

AU2409140490 Szczecin JEDNOSC in Polish 13 Sep 90 p 3

[Interview with Lech Kaczynski, deputy chairman of "Solidarity," by "M.W."; place and date not given: "A Guarantor"]

[Excerpt] [JEDNOSC] It would appear that the role of "Solidarity" in society is on the decline. It is increasingly becoming the target of criticism. Does this mean that its days are over?

[Kaczynski] "Solidarity" has never been in a better position, it has never been as powerful as it is at the present time. "Solidarity" spawned the overwhelming majority of social and political changes that have taken place in our country. Today, our union is celebrating a triumph. It would also appear that "Solidarity" has found a permanent place in public life. It may on more than one occasion in the future prove to be the most credible element in public life. The process of change has barely started, and "Solidarity" inspired those changes. It is understandable that it does not suit everyone that the union should perform such a role.

[JEDNOSC] So, how right are those people who say that "Solidarity" has already done its job and that it should now perform a different role?

[Kaczynski] Of course, it can be said that in the struggle to change the system, "Solidarity" has already done its job, because the system has undergone a fundamental change. That is a fact and an undeniable achievement on the part of the union. However, the role of "Solidarity" does not end there, because as a social and professional movement, it is a force guaranteeing genuine changes. It can be argued that the institutional evolution will entail an essential level of social costs. Without "Solidarity," the whole process that is taking place in Poland would be exposed to the danger of anarchy and a gradual degeneration, and the public's patience could suddenly run out. If that is so, it means that "Solidarity" will continue to play a leading role in the life of the country, regardless of what people say and what we may think.

[JEDNOSC] You have said that "Solidarity" is not in a particularly good position in the international union movement. "Solidarity" holds different views on a great many issues. Why is this?

[Kaczynski] "Solidarity" still enjoys respect in the international trade union movement, primarily because the union still possess a certain magic in the eyes of the world. However, if you go into this issue more deeply, you will find that there are certain problems. There are certain structural differences that make things rather more complicated. Our union is based on regions and not on branches. However, that is not all there is to it; the fundamental differences concern something else. To put it mildly, we are considered to be a right-wing movement. At the same time, the main forces in the international trade union movement tend to the left. It is clear that we are not inclined to back that kind of line. However, this does not prevent us form developing normal union contacts.

[JEDNOSC] In your opinion, what prospects of becoming president does Walesa have?

[Kaczynski] The president should be the person most suited to the office and the person who is most able to guarantee pluralism in our country. Walesa is a charismatic leader who has proved himself in the most difficult of situations. It would appear that Walesa, who is good trade union chairman, could be an equally good president. There is no doubt that it would be better for "Solidarity" if Walesa were to remain union chairman, but we have to consider the interests of the country. If Walesa were to accomplish more for Poland as president than as union chairman, then that is something that should be recognized and accepted. [passage omitted]

Peasant Coalition Decides To Support Opposition

AU2509083390 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Sep 90 pp 1, 2

[Ewa Czaczkowska report: "The PSL Moves Into Opposition"]

[Text] The Supreme Council of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] is withdrawing its support for government ministers who are also PSL members and has decided to move into opposition. This was the decision reached by the PSL Supreme Council at its 19 September meeting. Forty council members voted for the resolution, five voted against, and 11 abstained.

Justifying the decision, the official statement says the following: "PSL proposals for amendments to the government's agriculture policy are still being ignored. The frequently highlighted lack of cooperation between the forces that ousted the communists from power was recently restated by the chairman of the Council of Ministers who rejected all PSL program proposals. The PSL is the strongest representative of the agricultural lobby in parliament. The PSL deeply regrets these developments and declares that it cannot continue to bear responsibility for the government's agricultural program."

The matter of the PSL's participation in government only came to the surface at the closing stages of the meeting, by deputies who damanded clarification of the party leadership's position before the upcoming Sejm debate. Adam Babul suggested that the party move into opposition and the formal motion was moved by Supreme Council member Wojtas. In the heated and dramatic discussion between the supporters and opponents of the motion, one thing became clear, namely, the PSL's latest move was an answer to the government's decision to appoint a non-PSL minister of agriculture. The PSL membership discussed the weakening position of the party and the need to "keep face" and the impending drop to the "political second division." By moving into opposition the PSL was hoping to prevent these developments.

Deputy Waldemar Pawlak gave a resume of pluses and minuses from 5 May 1990, the date of the PSL unification congress. On the debit side are setbacks to the party personnel program, the inability of party leadership to make use of political opportunities, and the party's poor financial policy. He asked party chairman Roman Bartoszcze whether Bartoszcze was with the PSL or was one of the people who wanted to weaken the party, and this brought the PSL chairman to his feet. Bartoszcze replied that "if the PSL wanted to play in the political first division it had to play hard and that as PSL chairman he could not be held responsible for the government's policy."

The issue whether the PSL should remain in the government coalition had been raised before at various party meetings and the party had come close to leaving the government coalition after the farmers' protests earlier this summer. At the moment there are three PSL ministers in the government: Justice Minister Aleksander Bentkowski, Health and Welfare Minister Andrzej Kosiniak, and Environment Minister Bronislaw Kaminski.

The decision of the PSL's Supreme Council to leave the government coalition was the most important, although not the sole decision made that day. It was preceded by a long discussion on the party's political, economic, and social program. It was decided to refer the heavily amended draft of the program for further consultation. The upcoming election was also debated at the meeting. In its statement, the PSL Supreme Council stated that "an acceleration of parliamentary and presidential elections will only be possible after the adoption of the necessary changes to the Constitution and the adoption of a new electoral law." The PSL supports general presidential elections and a system of proportional voting for the parliamentary elections. The PSL's constitutional draft document contains a proposal to replace the Senate with a self-governing parliamentary chamber and this clause was also approved.

The PSL Parliamentary Deputies Club met later that same evening and Deputy Jozef Zych reaffirmed that the PSL was moving into opposition. "It is not known whether the PSL ministers will resign. The prime minister has a free choice and so have they."

Government Examines Work Rate, Middle East Crisis

LD2409215490 Warsaw PAP in English 2051 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 24—The Council of Ministers today held a meeting presided over by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

At the outset, the government discussed important current matters stemming from last week's Sejm meeting. It stressed that the expected cut of the Sejm's term and rise in the political temperature should not negatively affect the rate of work performed by the government. The prime minister obliged all the ministers to vigorously continue the government-run undertakings aimed at reforming the state and its economy.

The Council of Ministers next acquainted itself with the situation in the Middle East. A decision was made to send a field hospital and hospital ship there. Under the Hague convention, these units are obliged to extend medical aid to all parties in the conflict. In taking this decision, the Polish Government took into account the resolution of the UN Security Council referring to the armed conflict in this region and to the endeavours of the international community aimed at restoring peace there, respect of international law and particularly ending the occupation of Kuwait by Iraq.

In the further part of the meeting, the Council of Ministers continued debate on the issues of culture and next heard a report on the implementation of the law of this January on changes in the organization and operation of the cooperative sector.

Republican Party Founding Meeting in Krakow

LD2209212590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 22 Sep 90

[Text] A founding meeting of the Republican Party [Partia Republikayska] has been held in Krakow, during which an ideological declaration was adopted. The party has announced that it is in favor of the adoption of a new constitution by the new parliament elected in free elections, of a presidential-parliamentarian system of exercising power as well as of the candidacy of Lech Walesa.

Left-Wing Parties Set Up Coordinating Commission

LD2409220390 Warsaw PAP in English 2023 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 24—Representatives of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS-Odrodzenie), Polish Independent Socialist Party (NPPS), Social-Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SDRP), and the Union of Free Cooperatives (UWS) met here today to discuss the political situation before presidential and parliamentary elections.

Participants in the meeting said that it was necessary to join efforts to work out a plan for cooperation of left-wing forces using for this purpose working contacts in a joint coordinating commission, set during today's meeting.

Geremek Views Political, Economic Situation

AU2509101790 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Sep 90 p 8

[Interview with Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Solidarity group in the Polish Sejm, by Jochen Preussler; place and date not given: "The Wall Must Not Be Erected Now at the Oder and Neisse Rivers"]

[Text] [Preussler] What is the difference between the Solidarity group in parliament, which you head, and the trade union with the same name when it was founded in 1980?

[Geremek] In 1980 Solidarity was the only free movement in Poland's public life. It had 10 million members and was a political-trade unionist and social movement. Now Solidarity as a simple trade union has only 2 million members.

The parliamentary group which developed from Solidarity, on the other hand, is a pluralistic movement. Two political groups have formed within this parliamentary group: The first calls itself "Center Accord" and adopts a rather rightist attitude, and the other one is called "Democratic Action."

Both groups formed as a result of the conflict surrounding the legacy of Solidarity. They are no longer part of the trade unions, but they are not parties, either. In the postcommunist period the question of political parties in our country is a contentious issue. I know that in the GDR the situation is different, since there you have a normal political pluralism as in the FRG. In Hungary, the CSFR, and Poland the political parties are still weak; political movements, on the other hand, are strong—the Democratic Forum in Hungary, the Civic Forum in the CSFR. And in Poland we now have these two political Solidarity movements, and, in addition, 150 political parties.

[Preussler] One hundred and fifty?

[Geremek] Yes, this means that we have just established the legal conditions for political pluralism. Our society still does not accept political parties. This is the special thing about Poland's transition from an authoritarian regime to democracy.

[Preussler] What percentage of the voters does the Solidarity political movement currently represent in parliament?

[Geremek] This is a difficult question. I can only say that at the parliamentary elections in June 1989 we won all possible seats. However, at the local elections this year the situation was different. The various Solidarity lists won only 42 percent of the votes, the rest were distributed among other groups, but, most of all, among people who did not belong to any political party.

Thus, one can say that the situation is still very uncertain. The transitional period in Poland has its peculiarities. Not only do we have to form political-democratic institutions, but we also have to establish a democratic-political culture in the first place.

[Preussler] Nevertheless, you are striving for new elections. What should the regulations be? Will there be a restrictive clause in your country?

[Geremek] We are now discussing the new Constitution and the election law. Poland's Social Democracy, the postcommunist group, is striving for a simple proportionate election law without any obstacles in the forum of percentages. We want to propose a different election law to the Sejm. We want to use the possibility of a majority voting system; in every electoral district there would be only one seat, which would go to that party which receives the majority of the votes. There is also the proposal to take over the FRG election system, including the five-percent restrictive clause. Thus, we have alternatives and must choose.

[Preussler] If I understand you correctly, the process of democratization is still under way in Poland?

[Geremek] Yes, and we are now in the middle of the crossroads. On 20 September a debate on Poland's political future will start in parliament. A schedule of changes, so to speak, is to be drawn up, which includes, among other things, presidential elections and the new Constitution. I think that the project of the new democracy in Poland will be clearer after this debate. At the same time, there is another difficulty—as you know—namely Poland's economic situation.

[Preussler] Is there already a concept for the solution of economic problems and the reduction of foreign debts?

[Geremek] We know very well that the future of Polish democracy now depends on the economy. The collapse of our economy would jeopardize all political chances. At the beginning of this year, we embarked on a policy of basic economic changes. In January 1990, the inflation rate amounted to 80 percent per month, this year in July it was only three percent. We managed to stop inflation and to strengthen the currency. The exchange rate between the Polish zloty and the U.S. dollar has been stable since the beginning of the year.

Now there is the question of how we can combat the depression and change the structure of Polish industry. We believe that the introduction of the market economy—like you, we normally define it as social market economy—is impossible without privatization. Therefore, we are preparing the legal basis for privatization. Not only might the first pilot privatization projects be started in the last four months of this year, but we will also prepare a mass privatization project, privatization that gives every citizen a free share. This will be the decisive moment for the Polish economy and the economic reform.

[Preussler] Despite all the difficulties, you are optimistic, even as regards the economic development?

[Geremek] I know very well that the situation is extremely difficult. But I am sure that we are on a good path. However, the real question is how long we can expect social patience from the Poles. The people still have hope. But I cannot say for how long we will have this sociopsychological effect, which is important for Poland's future. I hope that we will be able to cope with the complicated situation and that in such a difficult situation social demagogy will not prevail and affect the people. Thus, Poland's actual problem is not only an economic one, it is rather a sociopsychological and political one.

[Preussler] One question about the relationship between Poland and Germany. Now that a greater Germany is coming into existence, how do you assess this relationship? Have the Germans learned from old mistakes?

[Geremek] I think that, for the first time since World War II, we are in a good situation. It can be the starting point for a new relationship between Poles and Germans. But I also agree with Guenter Grass, who, referring to the "anatomy of hatred," said at the Oslo conference that, like Hungarians and Czechs, who are afraid of a Germany that is economically even stronger, Poles and Germans will be confronted with new problems. We also cannot fail to see that there is new hatred against Poles, Hungarians, and other foreigners, perhaps above all against Poles. It concerns above all the small dealers.

How should we cope with the problems? The beginning must be a clear position with regard to the Oder-Neisse [Odra-Nysa] border, a firm border. Afterward we should try to establish normal and various relations in all fields, not only between countries, but also between border areas, for example, between Saxony and Zielona Gora. We hope very much that there will be no problems for the German minority in Poland or the Polish minority in Germany and that we will create the conditions for the preservation of the cultural identity, the right to the language, in both states.

However, the most important thing now is probably to establish close economic cooperation. After the unification of Germany, I see the danger of the reconstruction of the Berlin Wall, that is, at the Oder-Neisse border. This could be a wall that will divide Europe anew. However, we hope that we will achieve a transformation within the European Community, by which Poland, Hungary, and the CSFR will gradually become equal members of the new democratic Europe.

[Preussler] Without hatred, in friendship?

[Geremek] Without hatred, in friendship! And we should not only be able to eliminate all traditions of hatred between the Poles and Germans and all other peoples, but also new dangers of hatred that proliferate as a consequence of the democratic change in Central Europe.

Walesa Says Main Objective Is Market Economy

LD2309162190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 23 Sep 90

[Text] Deliberations of the Solidarity Chairman's Citizens Committee are continuing in Warsaw. In his address Lech Walesa said that it would be ideal if we constituted unity. Currently, however, the main objective is the introduction of a market economy. It means a diversity and a possibility of choice, both on the issue of the economy as well as social and political issues. A market economy cannot be built under the conditions of a monopoly. The Solidarity chairman also announced that he understands the intensification as creating possibilities for various groups, and for each one of them it means something else. [sentence as heard]

Turning to the members of the committee, Lech Walesa stressed that intellectual elites cannot be missed out in the current transformations.

Professor Wieslaw Chrzanowski presented a draft proposing changes in the regulations of the Citizens Committee's work. A new name is proposed: Solidarity Citizens' Committee Attached to Lech Walesa [Komitet Obywatelski Solidarnosc przy Lechu Walesie]. This is necessary because of Lech Walesa's intention to stand as a candidate in the presidential elections, which may also mean that he will have to step down from his post as Solidarity trade union's chairman.

Mazowiecki Receives Democracy Aid Alliance Group

LD2209212290 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 22 Sep 90

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki has received representatives of the Alliance in Aid of Democracy.

[Unidentified correspondent] In the meeting with the prime minister, held in the office of the Council of Ministers, the following were taking part: Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, Pawel Wogler, Jan Rokita, Stanislaw Stomma, Kazimierz Ujazdowski, Andrzej Wielowieyski, Tadeusz Wolek, and Jerzy Turowicz.

[Begin recording] [unidentified voice] We have come to Prime Minister Mazowiecki as a delegation of representatives of the Alliance in Aid of Democracy and of two main forces forming this alliance of the citizens movement—Democratic Action and Forum of the Democratic Right—to discuss the present political situation, which has accelerated somewhat, one can say, in light of last week's events: the meeting at the primate's and the Sejm sitting which ended yesterday. We have come to discuss this situation and problems connected with the approaching presidential campaign, and in general to defend why this alliance was created, that is, to defend the philosophy for running the country, the philosophy for the creation of a modern democracy, a legal state, and the return to Europe. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Editors Comment on 'Ruch' Distribution Network

AU2109185390 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Sep 90 p 2

[Statement issued by newspaper editors Andrzej Bunn, Jacek Cieszewski, Dariusz Fikus, Adam Michnik, Tadeusz Pikulicki, and Kazimierz Woycicki]

[Text] The idea of splitting up the "Ruch" enterprise into hundreds of local companies is gaining support among the enterprise's employees.

In practice, it would mean that the distribution of important dailies outside larger towns would cease. Once the "Ruch" network collapses, no one will find it profitable to deliver and sell newspapers to smaller towns and to the countryside. Poles will not be able to exchange views and ideas with the help of the press.

We believe that it is in society's interest to retain a national press market and that it would not be possible to do so without a central distribution system.

Our staffs do want to set up an opposition between their interests and those of their readers on the one hand, and the interests of "Ruch" employees on the other hand. We only wish to point out that by splitting up "Ruch," the enterprise's employees will deprive themselves of the benefits that are to be gained from the existence of an integrated network of retail outlets. It takes years for a network of this kind to be created under market conditions, but we have one already, and it is one one of the largest in the world. It will make "Ruch" more attractive to foreign investors—and resources for improving and modernizing it can only come from abroad. Offers have already been made.

The press is not solely a burden for "Ruch" retail outlets. In the near future, with the development of a market and the emergence of competition, the press will attract customers to "Ruch's" kiosks and shops. So, the enterprise can and should be maintained as the joint property of employees, publishers, foreign interests, and the state treasury (as long as its participation is needed).

[Signed] Andrzej Bunn (EXPRESS WIECZORNY), Jacek Cieszewski (TRYBUNA SLASKA), Dariusz Fikus (RZECZPOSPOLITA), Adam Michnik (GAZETA WYBORCZA), Tadeusz Pikulicki (GAZETA KRAKOWSKA), Kazimierz Woycicki (ZYCIE WARSZAWY)

Industry Minister on Polish Nuclear Plant Freeze

AU2409103390 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 Sep 90 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Tadeusz Syryjczyk, minister of industry, by Malgorzata Pokojska; place and date not given: "Calculations With Energy"]

[Excerpts] [Pokojska] Why exactly has it been decided to stop building Zarnowiec [nuclear power plant]? Are the economic arguments stronger than the ecological ones?

[Syryjczyk] The following factors influenced the government's decision: the state energy balance, the profitability of investment, and the safety of the future plant. Tests carried out by the ministry reveal that it is possible to stabilize the energy balance until the year 2000, and to reduce carbon dioxide emission without building any nuclear plant.

[Pokojska] For years we were frightened with possible energy cuts and cold apartments. Is that a change in politics, or a change in the energy industry?

[Syryjczyk] There is no doubt that the energy industry is in recession. Energy needs have sunk because of a fall in industrial output. Taking the reduced energy-intensiveness of industry into account, one suspects that in future, output will rise faster than the demand for energy. Apart from that, there are enormous reserves inherent in conventional power stations and the distribution network if they are modernized, and especially if the energy that is presently being produced is better utilized. As far as the immediate future is concerned, large stocks of coal have been amassed in power stations, and these stocks should stabilize energy prices. There should be no energy cuts in winter. [passage omitted]

[Pokojska] But Zarnowiec is a project that has already been started. Some of the money allocated to it has already been spent. Stopping the project will cause losses.

[Syryjczyk] Some of the work and money that has already gone into the project may be recovered following an investigation, but we do not know how much. When I took office, it seemed that Zarnowiec would meet European safety criteria with only a minimum of changes. We invited in Western firms to conduct a survey, especially the Belgian Belgatom, which is only a consumer of nuclear energy. It turned out that this type of reactor might indeed fulfill European safety criteria, but the present level of investment makes that impossible. Foreign and Polish experts presented a comprehensive catalog of changes concerning not just the automatic control system, which was unexpected, but also other spheres which had already been planned earlier. Implementing all these changes would have meant having to freeze investments for at least another year. The experts also think that not more than 30 percent of total outlay has been spent so far. There is at least another $1.5 billion to spend on this project.

[Pokojska] So what will happen to the Zarnowiec site?

[Syryjczyk] The laboratory that has already been built will be used the way it was planned. The site itself, which has already been prepared, and the railway link with the port, could be used as an industrial installation. The fate of this site has not been decided yet. We will decide in concert with the local authorities. I think there will be an auction in the end. I do not think the future owner or tenant will have any trouble with making good use of this site in accordance with environmental requirements.

[Pokojska] So after years of uncertainty, the Polish energy industry is going back to coal.

[Syryjczyk] A coal monopoly is not beneficial to the industry. We will try to abandon coal and make use of other sources, mainly gas. But for the time being, it is essential to increase coal extraction and find new foreign suppliers for it. [passage omitted]

Niezabitowska Holds News Conference 21 Sep

LD2109225390 Warsaw PAP in English 2200 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 21—Polish Government spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska held a press conference here today attended also by Vice Chairman of the Main Statistical Office Krzysztof Lutostanski.

Opening the conference Niezabitowska read a statement saying in part:

A year has passed recently since Mazowiecki's government was set up.

In his expose on September 12, 1989 the prime minister posed enormous tasks before his government. They included a democratic restructuring of the state, setting foundations for a free market economy, and ensuring full sovereignty of our country which was to become an independent Poland again.

It is not a goal of my today's statement to uncritically praise the government for its attainments but to make all of us aware that despite numerous and unavoidable mistakes and flaws, great changes took place in Poland. These changes are certainly not the work of the government only: They were possible due to common work, common great effort of the parliament, government and society.

We are in the middle of the road. The government has made it its task to form a legal and institutional framework which will give the nation a chance to get out of the great civilizational and economic crisis which is a legacy of 145 years of communism. We are deeply convinced it is a realistic chance that will be used.

Krzysztof Lutostanski briefed newsmen on the economic situation in Poland.

In August we noted a distinctly lower drop in imports from Western countries and the lowest growth of retail prices for goods and consumer services in two years, Lutostanski said.

The growth of the number of jobless in result of mass reductions was greater than in previous months, amounting to 28 percent, he stated.

Prices grew by 1.8 percent, Lutostanski continued. For instance, the food prices grew in the first week of September by 1.6 percent, in the second one by 1.2 percent, the overall growth in the first half of the month reaching 2.8 percent. This figure is greater than in the fourth week of August.

Answering newsmen's questions, Malgorzata Niezabitowska said in part:

The Foreign Ministry stated that we receive the decision on introduction of visas for Poles travelling to Germany with deep regret. We think this is not a good beginning for development of good-neighbourly contacts with united Germany.

We hope these regulations will be eased and talks with the German side on the matter are under way. But in reference to the situation the foreign minister announced that the stand of the FRG authorities makes Poland take a similar decision in relation to citizens of the former GDR who will have to hold a Polish visa starting from October 3.

Prime Minister Mazowiecki will pay a visit to Spain from September 25 to 26 at the invitation of Felipe Gonzalez, Niezabitowska announced. During the visit the prime minister will be recieved by King Juan Carlos, will hold talks with Prime Minister Gonzalez and representatives of the Cortes [parliament] and have a number of meetings with leading representatives of business and industrial circles.

The visit will be conducive to maintaining the Polish-Spanish dialogue at the highest level. Our political relations are excellent, Niezabitowska stated.

As concerns the problem of asylum, the spokeswoman said, it is possible in Poland but cases are considered individually. Citizens of the Soviet Union may obtain it, like citizens of other countries, if they meet conditions included in the regulations.

At the moment I can say nothing to the question of sending Polish troops to the Persian Gulf region, Niezabitowska stated.

Soon Vice Prime Minister Balcerowicz is going for a meeting with the International Monetary Fund and he will put forward there again a proposal to forgive our debt, and we hope our debt will be forgiven, she said.

On September 10 and 11 Polish-American consultations at the consular level were held. There are some optimistic signs here, the spokeswoman stated. During the talks the Polish side was assured of the possibility to reciprocate facilitations in obtaining visas by American citizens introduced by Poland consisting mainly in extending the practice of granting multiple entry visas and in prompt considering visa applications in cases of fate.

Minister Niezabitowska provided the estimated losses suffered by Poland in consequence of the Iraqi aggression on Kuwait. They are: unpaid Iraqi debt of $500 million, unpaid supplies and services of $219.9 million which had an immediate effect on the enterprises involved the loss of payment means on bank accounts reaching $183.4 million and prospective sums of new contracts which were at the stage of being signed by the partners and for whose implementation they had amassed investment equipment and ordered supplies. This sum is $1,515.5 million. At the same time Polish enterprises left in Kuwait their uncollected sums, productive and unproductive assets whose total value is $8.5 million.

Niezabitowska said that no invitations had been received to the ceremony of German unification. There is a German proposal that CSCE foreign ministers attending the UN session in New York come over to take part in the ceremony but this proposal is still being considered, she said.

The prime minister today received the complete file concerning the alcohol affair. Twenty-one investigation procedures are now carried out in 12 Polish provinces into the illegal imports and sale of alcohol. The investigators have established so far the illegal imports or attempt to import over 280 thousand litres of alcohol from the FRG, West Berlin, Austria, and Belgium.

Thirty-four persons have by now been charged and 17 of them were arrested. Warrants were issued after five suspects and alcohol worth 14 billion zlotys has so far been seized.

Balcerowicz To Participate in Annual IMF Session

Previews Washington Meetings

LD2109214290 Warsaw PAP in English 2002 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 21—The 45th annual session of the Board of Governors of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank is due to start in Washington next Sunday. Asked about his expectations pinned on the participation in the session, Polish Vice Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz told PAP in part:

I think that my visit to the United States will provide an opportunity for serious talks not only with representatives of Western and American Governments but also with members of the U.S. Congress and representatives of business circles.

I want to present the state of implementation of the economic programme, and against this background our expectations on the ways in which the West might support the Polish efforts.

I believe the Western approach to the problem of reduction of the Polish debt will turn out equally far-reaching as the way of implementing internal reforms in Poland. No decisions should be expected here but I think that the Washington talks may be another important step towards a positive solution.

I believe Poland has a chance to shape a political set-up which will ensure continuation of basic reforms and completion of the restructuring of the economic system. Many things have already been achieved and I think there is room for continuation of this difficult task in every political set-up.

Addresses IMF on Debt

LD2309224190 Warsaw PAP in English 2013 GMT 23 Sep 90

[By PAP correspondent Ryszard Piekarowicz]

[Text] Washington, Sept. 23—Vice Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz who is taking part in the autumn conference of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank today met with U.S. Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady. President of the National Bank of Poland Wladyslaw Baka and Minister Witold Trzeciakowski took part in the meeting.

On the same day Leszek Balcerowicz presented the guidelines for the Polish privatisation programme and other structural changes at the IMF executive committee meeting.

Speaking of the prospects and difficulties of the reform programme Balcerowicz said that the main obstacle on the road to its succesful implementation is Poland's foreign debt burden and he reiterated his appeal for its reduction.

The vice prime minister said that Poland applied for the status of an EEC associate member wishing to become a full member by the middle of 1990's, when the process of structural changes in Polish economy reaches its end.

Balcerowicz also said that the unification of Germany would have a negative impact on Polish trade. The GDR was the second-largest importer of Polish products and a considerable part of that demand will turn West after reunification. The German unification combined with the new oil crisis threatens with undermining the Polish payment balance, Balcerowicz stressed.

Mazowiecki, Others Receive EC Official

LD2109214190 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Frans Andriessen, deputy chairman of an EC Commission, has held talks with Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Leszek Balcerowicz, and Krzysztof Skubiszewski. The main topics were the process for Poland to attain the status of the associate state in the EEC and also economic help.

Mazowiecki on Poland's Associate EEC Membership

AU2509083990 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22-23 Sep 90 pp 1, 7

[Interview with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, by Maria Wagrowska, Warsaw; place and date not given: "Special EEC Ties With Poland"]

[Text] Directly after his meeting with Frans Andriessen, deputy chairman of the EEC Commission, who was on an official visit to Warsaw, Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki told RZECZPOSPOLITA about the subject of these talks.

[Mazowiecki] We and the EEC agreed that regular and formal talks on Poland's associate membership of the EEC would begin in October. There are many matters to be discussed, for associate membership will involve the need for Poland to adapt to the norms and standards adopted by the EEC. Regardless of this, we also discussed the broader question whether the EEC will merely enhance the degree of integration between the countries presently belonging to it, or whether it will extend its borders as well, and whether these two processes would be mutually contradictory. From what we heard, the EEC is laying the emphasis on enhanced integration, but my interlocutor thought this might mean an eventual expansion of EEC territory. We understand of course that this is a complicated procedure.

I for my part very much encouraged Mr. Andriessen, and through him the EEC, to undertake this expansion because we believe that following the great historic breakthrough of liberation from totalitarianism and communism, what is needed is another impetus in the form of European integration, and this integration is impossible without overcoming the economic divide. I think the EEC should make this attempt.

[Wagrowska] But Poland is also faced with the challenge of having to adapt its economic legislation and all its standards to those in force in the EEC....

[Mazowiecki] I thing an adaptation is only possible in stages. Poland's associate membership may be considered the first stage.

[Wagrowska] Have you not thought of encouraging a pan-European movement in Poland in order to arouse an awareness of Europe regardless of the institutional cooperation with the Council of Europe and EEC?

[Mazowiecki] We always emphasize that it is not just contacts with countries and governments that are important, but also broad contacts with societies. That is what we have in mind when we talk of reconciliation with the East and with the West. I think we need a development of links in many spheres, e.g. between cities. But it seems to me that the problem does not involve encouraging a pan-European movement as such, but in encouraging a rapprochement between societies and countries.

Zelazny Elected IAEA President for '90-91 Term

LD2409205390 Warsaw PAP in English 1958 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Vienna, Sept. 24—The administrative board of the International Atomic Energy Agency elected Roman Zelazny its president. Zelazny heads the Polish State Atomic Energy Agency.

At the conclusion of the 34th session of the General Assembly of the IAEA, Poland was re-elected to the 35-strong board. It unanimously elected Zelazny its president for the 1990-1991 term.

"I consider this choice first and foremost as an expression of recognition of what is currently taking place in Poland as goes for sociopolitical transformations as well as the role played by Poland in atomistics for years now," Zelazny told PAP.

Foreign Minister Departs for UN Assembly Session

LD2209214490 Warsaw PAP in English 1937 GMT 22 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 22—Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski left for the UN General Assembly session today.

Whenever one departs for the session, two tasks always have to be reached: First, this is participation in plenary discussions and talks to discuss problems that the assembly or its bodies examine. Now, we expect a Security Council session on sanctions against Iraq, said the head of Polish diplomacy before his departure.

Second, these are meetings on the occasion of the session, with its participants. I will hold a meeting within the so-called Rio Group affiliating the main Latin American states. A conference of foreign ministers of the 35 states—signatories to the CSCE—will be held at the very start of October to prepare a summit conference to be held in Paris in November.

Next, the world summit on children will be held in New York and I think that despite a difficult political timetable Poland will take part in the summit. I am almost sure that Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki will go to this meeting.

Returning from New York, I plan to make a stopover in Germany. A reason for this visit is a meeting convened in Berlin by Bundestag Vice President Ms. Renger. Minister Genscher and the foreign ministers of such Central and East European states as Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland will be present. We will discuss what is called a new European architecture.

I will address the UN session and it is clear that the war in the Middle East will figure prominently in our debates, Skubiszewski said.

Appeal Sent to UN on Losses From Iraq Blockade

LD2209214790 Warsaw PAP in English 1954 GMT 22 Sep 90

[Text] New York, Sept. 22—Poland's permanent representative at the United Nations Ambassador Stanislaw Pawlak last Friday conveyed to Security Council Chairman Ambassador Yuliy Vorontsov a memorandum of the Polish Government concerning the losses caused by Poland's joining the anti-Iraqi sanctions undertaken by the Security Council.

A letter to Vorontsov reads, that Poland expects the Security Council and other UN bodies, as well as governments of the member states, to take into account the serious economic problems which emerged in consequence of measures connected with supporting the UN resolution and that they will help Poland overcome the difficulties caused by the losses estimated in the memorandum attached to the letter.

The total losses are estimated at some 2.4 billion U.S. dollars. The Polish Government expresses its hope that the international community will display understanding of the exceptionally unfavourable situation in which Poland has found itself. For this reason Poland expects international solidarity that will allow compensation of the losses suffered by states which pay a high social and economic price for the materialization of the UN Security Council's decision. The Polish Government supports this decision with full strength.

Customs Official Interviewed on Border Traffic

LD2409211390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Interview with Tomasz Bartoszewicz, Main Customs Office chairman, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr. Chairman, it transpires that 1 January will be the date for putting all our customs and border issues in order.

[Bartoszewicz] Maybe not all of them and maybe not completely in order. In any case, I hope we will manage to set certain things the correct way up, above all regarding our relations with Czechoslovakia. Last week I discussed with my Czechoslovak colleague the customs conditions that would have to be met for our border to be completely opened beginning 1 January. We promised our customs officers, together with the Czechoslovak customs officers, would prevent all those artificially cheap goods from leaving Czechoslovakia, just as long as an artificial price system and subsidized prices continue to exist there.

[Correspondent] Sir, you spoke to representatives of the Hungarian administration on the subject of large-scale trade.

[Bartoszewicz] We spoke about the situation that would arise in Polish-Hungarian trade after 1 January next year, when we went over to dealing in hard currency, and when customs barriers began to fully operate. Hungarian imports will become very much dearer. Exactly the same will apply to Polish exports.

[Correspondent] So, are we faced with a shortage of trade exchange?

[Bartoszewicz] We decided we should at least sign an agreement on the abolition of customs dues on mutual turnover, on principles of mutuality. Long and complicated negotiations will begin soon.

[Correspondent] The third issue: Today, sir, you are going to Sweden. Will you be talking, inter alia, about our visa-free travel to that country?

[Bartoszewicz] Yes, above all, I will be talking about the customs conditions that must be met for visa-free traffic between Poland and Sweden to be renewed.

[Correspondent] When could this take place?

[Bartoszewicz] It is difficult for me to say. I propose we return to this subject when I get back from Stockholm.

Exhumation Records To Be Passed to USSR

LD2409122890 Warsaw PAP in English 1149 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 24—The exhumation of the bodies of Polish officers murdered near Kharkov planned for September is, as the Prosecutors' Office of the Ukraine has indicated, impossible due to procedural reasons, Deputy Public Prosecutor of Poland Stefan Sniezko told newsmen today.

The investigation records are to be handed over to the General Prosecutor's Office of the USSR.

Polish Premier Departs for Spain 25 Sep

LD2509075690 Warsaw PAP in English 0705 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 25—Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki left Warsaw for Spain today.

Mazowiecki is accompanied by Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Marcin Swiecicki on his three-day visit paid at the invitation from Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez.

Joint Telephone Venture Set Up With Spain

AU2509094790 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 19 Sep 90 p 2

["jbl"-signed report: "Telephones From Alcatel"]

[Text] The Spanish company Alcatel Sesa (second largest telecommunication concern in the world) has concluded a joint venture agreement with Polish enterprises. The contract was signed on 18 September. In the new company, called Alcatel Setel, the Spanish company has 51 percent of the share capital; the State Telecommunications Bureau-Telkom has 34 percent; and PTHZ-Electrim has 15 percent.

The company will initially concentrate on installing new telephone exchanges, and next year these will be produced in Poland. In five years time the annual production of a million System "12" telephone exchange connections is planned.

Alcatel has been doing business with Electrim for the last six years. In the last two years, the Polish enterprise has produced goods to Alcatel's order to the value of $12 million and now contracts have been signed for the import of telecommunication equipment worth $60 million into Poland.

On 15 December 1990, an Alcatel telephone exchange with a capacity of 10,000 telephone lines will be commissioned in Warsaw. It will be the first digital telephone exchange in East Europe.

Poland, Argentina Discuss Economic Cooperation

LD2109221690 Warsaw PAP in English 1647 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 21—The eighth session of the Polish-Argentine Mixed Commission was held here September 20-21. The Argentine delegation was led by Director General for Foreign Policy and Economic Negotiations P. Juan Carlos Arnau and the Polish side by Vice Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Janusz Kaczurba.

The sides discussed conditions for further development of trade and economic cooperation between Poland and Argentina in the changing social and economic situation in both countries.

The two sides voiced special interest in cooperation in fisheries, shipbuilding industry, mining and building of hotels.

During the session, the sides signed an agreement on trade and economic cooperation in the coming two years.

"Our Polish talks have inaugurated a new era in mutual contacts," leader of the Argentine delegation Juan Carlos Sanchez Arnau told PAP. "In the coming years we expect major invigoration in economic cooperation, especially in fishing, mining, agriculture, and hotel business. We plan to go ahead in Poland with the saving and crediting system which is widely practised in Argentina enabling to sell many products on installments.

"We have already started cooperation in food processing. A group of Polish experts will soon visit Argentina to acquaint themselves with the operation of our food processing plants. We also plan to build two hotels in Poland (in Krakow and Zakopane) and to organize a fast-food network.

"During my Polish days (...) we have also referred to some aspects connected with the upcoming Polish visit of Argentine President Carlos Menem, scheduled for October 22-23 this year," he said.

Military Delegation From Netherlands Arrives

LD2409131990 Warsaw PAP in English 1246 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 24—A delegation of the Dutch Armed Forces, headed by chief of the defence staff of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, General Peter J. Graeff, arrived in Poland today for an official visit paid at the invitation of the chief of the General Staff of the Polish Army, General Jozef Uzycki.

Future German Army 'Has Many Unresolved Issues'

AU2409175190 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ in Polish
20 Sep 90 p 3

[Robert Nasibulin commentary in "NOVOSTI, especially for ZOLNIERZ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ": "The Question Mark Over the Bundeswehr and the GDR's National People's Army"]

[Text] The process of German reunification is accelerating. First, a unified financial system, then, several rounds of "two-plus-four" negotiations, and finally, the Soviet declaration that removed the last main obstacle to German reunification. The way to a reunified German state is wide open.

The Soviet Union has agreed that a reunified Germany will be in NATO. Thus, the new joint Armed Forces of a united Germany composed of the Bundeswehr and the GDR's National People's Army [NVA] will become a factor in the political and military arrangement of forces in Europe.

NATO military specialists have traditionally viewed the NVA as one of the most solid elements of the Warsaw Pact military structure. A high level of combat training and the solid professional and physical condition of officers and men have always distinguished the NVA during joint Warsaw Pact exercises. Today, however, from the statements made by Western military commentators, it would appear that "the former pride of the Warsaw Pact has taken a tumble, both in terms of numbers and morale."

Last summer, a group of foreign journalists visited several NVA bases. "You will be lucky if you come across a single soldier," said Major Dietlef Pischel at one of the deserted barracks. "Last February, the soldiers were given a choice, either to continue their military service in the Armed Forces or to transfer to civilian services. Approximately, 80 percent chose the latter. At present, we are not capable of meeting our tasks. We are waiting for the next intake of recruits," he concluded.

The situation was further aggravated by the substantial reduction in NVA's standing forces. In the fall in 1989, the NVA numbered 170,000 men. Today, the number is closer to 100,000. It is difficult to say whether the next round of conscription will alter this situation. An increasing number of young men are refusing to do military service. They fear their career prospects will suffer. This has more to do with the personal beliefs of the GDR Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann than it has with politics. Eppelmann, a former Lutheran pastor and pacifist, was sentenced to prison in 1960 for refusing to do military service. Recently, when commenting on the military budget cuts and manpower reductions, he proudly stated, "From now on the military establishment will not be capable of declaring war, especially one against the other German Army."

Of course, not all officers (especially the younger ones), share the defense minister's pride and joy. "Nobody in civilian life really cares about us. I have a military specialist education and I fear that the diploma from my military academy is useless," says Hans Apitz, a 26-year-old infantry officer.

Another problem. It seems that the principles behind the GDR's military training doctrines will not form part of the future "all-German" Army. "Approximately 96 percent of NVA officers are also members of the Communist Party and we realize that those who will not be able to abandon this ideology and adapt to new realities will not be needed after the two armies fuse," says Colonel Erhart Fischer, member of the FRG Defense Ministry's Political Planning Staff.

Joint military problems are further complicated by the questions of finance. Take for example the following problem: According to agreements, the GDR Government is obliged to pay approximately $900 million toward the upkeep of the 380,000-strong Soviet Armed Forces Group stationed in the GDR. Who is to pay for this, and in what currency?

What is to happen to Soviet military supplies to the NVA, especially the contract for the supply of 32 MiG-29 fighters worth $640 million?

Will this not lead to a highly peculiar situation in which one side possesses examples of state-of-the-art military hardware of the opposing side? Today, the NVA possesses 100 MiG-23 fighters, 200 MiG-21 fighters, 350 T-72 tanks, and 200 artillery pieces produced in the Soviet Union.

Such a situation is very likely, although Colonel Fischer assures that this will not happen: "Not a single item of the above mentioned hardware will be used in the Armed Forces of the future German state. Not because the equipment is bad, but we cannot permit our army to be equipped with all kinds of different military equipment and arms."

The future of the German Army has many unknowns, but it is quite obvious that all the resulting problems should be resolved between the two reuniting German states, as well as other interested parties.

Minister Tells Paper Romania Committed to Embargo

*JN2509071690 Manama WAKH in English
1520 GMT 24 Sep 90*

[Text] Doha, Sept 24 (GNA)—A ranking Romanian official has emphasised his country's commitment to the U.N. Security Council-imposed economic embargo against Iraq despite the trade relations that existed between Bucharest and Baghdad before the invasion.

Romania has from the outset condemned the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and called for the unconditional and immediate withdrawal of the Iraqi troops and the restoration of the legitimate Kuwaiti Government, the Romanian minister of state for foreign affairs said in an interview with Qatari Arabic daily AL-RAYAH published today.

The Romanian official said that his country would not go back on its position towards the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait whatever the sacrifices and despite the incentives and allurements the Iraqi regime has offered to Romania to alleviate the economic blockade imposed against Baghdad.

He indicated that his current tour of some Gulf states, the first by a Romanian official, was aimed at showing solidarity and support to these states and discussing means of boosting ties of joint cooperation in all domains.

He said he would convey messages from Romanian President Ion Iliescu to the Gulf leaders expressing support of the Romanian Government to the Gulf Arab states in face of the Iraqi aggression.

International Meeting on Oil Exploitation Opens

*AU2409164290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1224 GMT 24 Sep 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/9/1990—An important business meeting opens in Bucharest today marking Romania's return to joint ventures in petroleum after 50 years of isolation. Fifty-four petroleum companies from the U.S., Britain, the Netherlands, France, Italy will send leading representatives to Bucharest, Geomin-Rompetrol organizers announced and added that the officials will be accompanied by geologists, land surveyors, legal experts, etc. The organizers will detail out the characteristics of 15 oil and gasbearing-bearing [as received] areas in Romania that can be developed. It is assumed that the setting for mutually beneficial cooperation has been created for the development of deposits that could not be used to advantage for lack of technology.

Vatasescu Addresses Delegates

*AU2409203690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1809 GMT 24 Sep 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/09/1990—The proceedings of the first international meeting meant to make known areas in Romania selected for cooperation activities with foreign companies interested in concluding oil and gas exploration and exploitation contracts were held in Bucharest on Monday.

The Bucharest meeting was attended by all big oil companies and firms throughout the world 108 chairmen, vice-chairmen, exploration managers, geologists, geophysicists from 54 foreign companies.

Mr. Anton Vatasescu, minister secretary of state in charge of industrial and commercial activity, welcomed the participants on behalf of Romania's Government, saying inter alia:

By opening the country towards a broad international activity in the field of oil drilling we want to attract companies which, through their technical and financial potential could guarantee the performance of high-quality operations. The contribution in key technologies we expect from these partners should help us re-equip all the branches of our economy, the oil and natural gas industry included. We would like to assure our future partners who want to invest in the Romanian oil and gas industry that the new laws will include provisions meant to protect the interests of contract partners. In conclusion the companies represented to the meeting were extended the Romanian Government's invitation to broaden their cooperation with economic agents in Romania in all areas of activity, this country being a very propitious outlet for capital investment, for goods sales, as well as a good partner for commodities and equipment imports.

Contract provisions of the future cooperation accords were discussed during the proceedings as well as data on the geological areas to be tapped, various offers.

After the meeting a three-day fact-finding trip is to be organized in the Eastern Carpathians in a region of great interest for geological tappings.

Iliescu Thanks Italy for Support in EEC

*AU2109175890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1723 GMT 21 Sep 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 21/9/1990—President Ion Iliescu thanked the Italian Government for the action Italy, as president of the EEC, took in favour of a decision on the signing of an economic and commercial cooperation agreement between the Common Market and Romania. This message was conveyed by Romania's president to Luigi Amaduzzi, Italy's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Bucharest, who was received at the Cotroceni Palace on Friday morning.

The interview, which proceeded in a very friendly atmosphere, was devoted to an analysis of bilateral relations.

Iliescu Meets With U.S. Economics Professor

AU2409202190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1947 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/9/1990—Monday afternoon President Ion Iliescu met at the Cotroceni Palace with Mr. Anghel Rugina, Romanian-born American citizen, professor at the Northeastern University in Boston, U.S., now in Romania as guest of the "Romania" cultural foundation.

The discussion held in a warm, friendly atmosphere occasioned a broad exchange of opinions on Romania's transition to the market economy, on the numerous aspects concerning the overriding of the deep crisis Romania is now in. In that context reference as made to the modalities to assure the application of the government's economic programme as well as of certain ideas resulted from the economic and financial stabilization plan elaborate by Professor Rugina.

President Iliescu mentioned that Professor Rugina's plan, handed over at only several weeks after the revolution, had been a stimulating element for the reform measures in the Romanian economy.

During the interview aspects were also approached concerning the Romanian emigration as well as the way in which it had been treated by the totalitarian regime. Emphasis was placed on the fact that Romania had reconsidered its stand on the emigration and that—by a new attitude toward it—constructive actions were under way in the interest of the country and of all Romanians irrespective of their residence place.

Trade Officials Meet Finnish Businessmen

AU2109192290 Bucharest ROMPES in English 1752 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 21/9/1990—The delegation of Finnish businessmen, headed by Pertti Berg, president of the Starckjohann Telko Company, chairman for Finland of the Romanian-Finnish Trade Association, had talks on September 21, at the close of its Romanian visit, with Napoleon Pop, head of the Foreign Trade Department of the Ministry of Commerce and Tourism, and with Aurel Ghibutiu, president of Romania's Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

They discussed aspects and specific modalities to seek out new possibilities of resumption of the relations of collaboration and cooperation in view of intensifying and diversifying the Romanian-Finnish economic exchanges. They were optimistic about the negotiations conducted by the members of the delegation with numerous state and private economic firms in Romania in domains of mutual interest, like cooperation in the production and marketing of pulp and paper, bearings, iron-and-steel products, aluminium packages, pharmaceuticals, especially for the treatment of certain forms of cancer, etc.

Government Signs Financial Agreement With Turkey

AU2409163890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1254 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/9/1990—At the Ministry of Finance an agreement was initialled between the Governments of Romania and of the Republic of Turkey concerning the bilateral promotion and protection of investments. This document is intended to stimulate bilateral capital investments. The parties agreed to take the necessary measures for the agreement to be signed by the relevant organisms and put into force.

Roman Receives French Army General Navereau

AU2109191690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1748 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 21/9/1990—Premier Petre Roman received Friday, September 21, Army General Herve Navereau, envoy of the French Defence Ministry and military governor of Paris.

The two sides examined possibilities for revamping Romanian-French military cooperation. Present at the interview was Col-Gen. Victor Stanculescu, minister of national defence.

Barladeanu Receives Newly Appointed French Envoy

AU2109191490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1750 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 21/9/1990—On Friday, September 20, in the morning, Alexandru Barladeanu, Romania's Senate president, received Renauld Vidal [name as received], France's newly accredited ambassador in Bucharest on an introduction visit. The interview was held in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

On the occasion, the issue was approached of a Romanian delegation's participation in the meeting of the Council of Europe, to take place in Strasbourg soon, and of the delegation's likely visit to Paris.

Barladeanu, Martian Meet Hungarian Ambassador

AU2109185990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1802 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 21/9/1990—Alexandru Barladeanu, president of the Senate, and Dan Martian, speaker of the Chamber of Deputies of Romania's Parliament, had a one-hour interview with Erno Rudas, Hungary's new ambassador in Bucharest, at the latter's request, on September 21.

The Hungarian ambassador handed over a letter of reply signed by Gyorgy Szabad, president of the Hungarian parliament, in connection with the motion signed by Romania's Parliament on August 29, 1990, occasioned by the observance of 50 years since the Vienna award. In a declaration to a ROMPRES reporter, the ambassador stressed:

Considering the stand expressed by the Romanian Parliament in the letter conveyed to the Hungarian parliament, the latter opines and assesses that the historical past should be left to historians. At the same time, the Hungarian party welcomes the Romanian Parliament's decision to build a pluralist society in Romania, as an illustration of the Romanian people's sovereignty, of the wish to ensure for all citizens, irrespective of nationality, equal rights and freedoms, in every respect. The Hungarian parliament sincerely agrees with the Romanian Parliament that violence, hatred, underestimation should once and for ever be replaced by reconciliation, tolerance, mutual observance of the two peoples' freedom. The Hungarian ambassador assessed that this moment may open a new, long waited for path, in the relations between Romania and Hungary. He told that his country's parliament invites a Romanian parliamentary delegation, headed by the president of the Senate and the speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, to pay a visit to Hungary.

He opined that meetings, dialogue would allow for rapprochement, acquaintance, mutual understanding, reconciliation between the two countries.

"I have noted with pleasure that Hungary's state assembly, its president," said speaker Dan Martian after the interview, "share the standpoint expressed in the Romanian Parliament's motion that we should not turn to the past but to the future, that we should seek out and explore together ways of reconciliation, tolerance, observance of our peoples' identities and specific features. We welcome the Hungarian party's will" he said, "not to reach violent means in handling some issues existing now between our countries."

As for the Hungarian parliament's invitation, Dan Martian said that the Romanian Parliament would answer that initiative, considering that the parliaments and parliamentarians can and must make an important contribution to the development of the friendship between Romania and Hungary upon solid foundations.

Five New Proposals Advanced on Balkan Issues

AU2409185690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1658 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/9/1990,—At the recent Bucharest conference of foreign affairs high officials from Balkan countries, Romania made five new proposals for the development of Balkan cooperation. All five met the consensus of the participating states, said Mr. Romulus Neagu, minister secretary of state in the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in an interview with the "DIMINEATA" daily. Further down he listed them: the set-up in Bucharest of a working group for cooperation in cybernetics and telecommunications; the set-up, also at Bucharest, of another working group to draft a bill for cooperation between small and medium-sized enterprises in a free-market economy; a conference to be held in Romania on the profitable management of mountain areas, taking in consideration the experience and the resources of Balkan countries; an agricultural data bank to be founded in Bucharest, as well as a conference on a Romania-based institute for medical studies and documentation, the project of which is being examined by the Balkan Medical Union. Starting from President Iliescu's initiative, advanced on his state visit to Yugoslavia, Mr. Adrian Nastase, the Romanian foreign minister, proposed the creation of a Balkan security and cooperation forum to be also debated by the foreign ministers' conference at Tirana, Mr. Neagu said, adding that the Balkan forum will have to include the same three dimensions, or baskets, as the CSCE.

Culture Minister's Talks in Britain Reported

AU2109192390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1728 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 21/9/1990—Romanian Minister of Culture Andrei Plesu, now on an official visit to Great Britain, met with David Mellor, minister of arts, and Tristan Garel-Jones, minister of state in the British Foreign Office.

The interviews were opportunities to exchange opinions on the cultural links between Romania and Great Britain and their development prospects. Both sides agreed there were broad possibilities to expand cultural ties between the two countries.

The Romanian minister also had interviews with executives of the British Council and with theatrical people.

IAEA Team To Examine Nuclear Power Plant

AU2409185490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1832 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/09/1990—Following a request made by the Romanian Government in February 1990, an international team from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) consisting of experts in nuclear safety, also known by the name of operational safety review team—OSART, will perform a preoperational safety review of Cernavoda nuclear plant over September 24 [to] October 12, 1990. It is the first OSART mission in Romania.

The review will comprise two steps: one in 1990 on building aspects and another in 1991, on the preparations for putting it into operation. The IAEA also recommends a second similar mission to take place about one year before estimated date of plant commissioning.

The OSART team at Cernavoda includes, besides IAEA members, a number of experts appointed by the governments of Canada, France, Spain, Great Britain and the United States, plus an observer from Pakistan.

Delegation Leaves for Strasbourg Meeting

AU2409201990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1933 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/9/1990—"We shall do our best to bring Romania among the European countries", stated at a news conference Mr. Alexandru Birladeanu, president of the Senate, to head the delegation of the Romanian Parliament to the coming Strasbourg meeting. The 10 persons—the Romanian delegation includes all the political forces represented in the parliament: four National Salvation Front representatives and six members of other parties, some being leaders of parliamentary groups. It is, in his opinion, one of the most representative delegations of the Romanian Parliament to an international event.

Starting tomorrow the Romanian delegation will attend as a guest a debate of the Committee for Security and Cooperation in Europe on the future creation of a Pan-European Parliament. Romania's status as a special guest will be discussed inter alia. The Romanian delegation will further go to Paris for contacts with members of the French Senate and Chamber of Deputies.

Mr. Ion Ratiu, leader of the Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party parliamentary group in the Assembly of Deputies, told the same news conference: "I had the honor of being asked to take part in the delegation. I think this is a very good thing, a proof of democracy gaining ground in our country. I sincerely wish our European integration but I think it would be a mistake to force our way in. We'll not be able to help build a real democracy in Romania if we stay out of Europe."

Senator Corneliu Manescu, chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission of the Parliament, pointed out in his address that: "This delegation goes to Strasbourg to try to obtain Romania's admission to its rightful place, namely as a member of the European Parliament. We are aware that we will encounter difficulties, some created by ourselves, some created by partial ignorance of our country's ex-situation, but we will strive to prove we deserve the quality of special guests at this important European meeting".

Mr. Ionel Sandulescu, leader of the National Liberal Party parliamentary group, said: "As a senator, I will work for our comeback in Europe, and as a Romanian I will do all I can to help bring Romania back in Europe, whence it was driven 45 years ago under the quiescent eye of the West."

RMDSZ Chairman on National Minority Rights

AU2409104690 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Sep 90 p 6

[Interview with Sandor Balazs, Cluj county chairman of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania, by Gyorgy Beke; place and date not given: "There Is Also a Need For Collective Minority Rights"—first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Excerpts] Sandor Balazs is the Kolozs [Cluj] County chairman of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ], and he is also a philosopher and a college lecturer. He was the editor of the Transylvanian Hungarian-language samizdat publication KIALTO SZO [Crying Voice] during the last years of the Ceausescu regime. We asked Sandor Balazs about national minority problems.

[Beke] Following the changes in December 1989, many people in Romania felt that one of the conditions for democratic development was the reinforcement of the 1923 Romanian Constitution. They even saw the Constitution as a guarantee for the equal rights of nationalities. How did this legend surrounding the 1923 Romanian Constitution arise?

[Balazs] Veritable tales have recently emerged around the 1923 Romanian Constitution. Romanian public opinion believes that the Constitution completely guaranteed our democratic rights to freedom. One has to be familiar with the circumstances under which that Constitution was drafted, however, because they definitely contributed to the naturalization of this legend. The post-Trianon greater Romania needed to create a balance between the social and political conditions of the old Romania and those of the annexed territories, that were completely different; Romania needed the appropriate legal basis for such coordination. [passage omitted]

[Beke] The Romanian Parliament, with its two chambers, was elected on 20 March; its primary function is to draft a Constitution. What basic principles do you consider to be indispensable?

[Balazs] For Hungarians living in Transylvania, the first sentence of the Constitution, which determines the essence and character of the modern Romanian state, will be of the utmost importance. I am sad to say that the new Constitution will very probably begin with the same sentence as its predecessor of 1923, and it will probably declare that Romania is a uniform national state.

It is only seemingly easy to decide whether a country is national or multinational. There is no such thing as a pure national state; therefore, it depends on predetermined ratios whether a country is multinational in its nature. In other words, what proportion of minority nationalities is necessary in order to make a country multinational? If we set the limit at 10 percent—which seems acceptable—then the new Constitution should declare Romania as a multinational state. That is our first and most determining principle. However, there seems to be very little chance of this principle being accepted, because the National Salvation Front holds the majority in Parliament. It also has to be expected that most of the Romanian opposition parties will agree with the "one nation" principle. Second, it would be good if the new Constitution was inspired by the spirit of the local self-governing bodies. The RMDSZ program clearly enforces this idea.

Furthermore, it would be good if one of the main principles of the new Constitution was to recognize collective rights as well as individual rights. These days, the collective rights of social groups make Romanian public opinion see red. Day after day, we can read that if the national minorities were granted community rights, they would be privileged. In actual fact, however, this is not a privilege at all, but an indispensable condition for the real equal rights of national minorities. On the basis of collective rights, Hungarians in Romania would organize their own cultural lifestyle and their schools, without infringing upon the laws of the state. We could, therefore, achieve the cultural autonomy to which we aspire, which the current Romanian political opinion ferociously opposes. Once again, in this case, it chooses to see an infringement upon the sovereignty of the Romanian state and an attack against the country's territorial integrity.

[Beke] In principle, the relation between individual and collective rights have long since been discussed and settled, but these rights are not always implemented in every part of the world.

[Balazs] Real equality implies that the minority has more rights than the majority, so to speak. I say "so to speak," because, in fact, the majority already has "more rights." In concrete terms, let us say that the minority should have more rights; for example, it should not only be taught in Romanian, but also in Hungarian, if it likes. In actual fact, that is not "more," because the majority is also taught in its mother tongue.

Government on Privatization, Gulf Costs, Issues

AU2109191890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1754 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 21/9/1990—The Romanian Government gathered on Friday under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Petre Roman. The agenda includes debates on the economic adjustment programme, the status of commercial companies, privatization in trade and tourism and the report of the government commission in charge of controlling thefts from production units and the commercial network for speculation purposes in this country and abroad.

Minister of State Anton Vatasescu emphasized in the government's meeting of September 21 that because of the Gulf crisis the cost of the imported oil doubled, influencing the economic programs underway and the future ones, as well as the foreign balance of payments.

Because of the extremely serious difficulties facing the national economy, both in point of the resources and energy and in point of management and technology, it was assessed that the national industry would not be able to cover the difference of costs resulting from the energy price and the poor labour productivity.

Minister of State Eugen Dijmarescu presented to the government the principles he considered necessary for the stabilization of the economic structures and mechanisms.

The government established that the prime minister should present to the parliament a detailed account comprising the specific principles and strategy for the period ahead.

The program of privatization in tourism and commerce was presented by Mr. Constantin Fota, relevant minister. It shows that the economic agents in tourism have been autonomized so far. A number of hotels in Bucharest and in the country were auctioned and the sites were established for more hotels whose construction will be negotiated through international auction.

The prime minister reprimanded the heads of the relevant departments for procrastinating the action of privatization that gave unprofitable economic results both in tourism and in commerce and demanded the government to sanction them.

The report of the government commission for combating the embezzlement of goods from producer units and the commercial circuit for purposes of profiteering at home or abroad, highlighted an innacceptable situation. The preferential sale, embezzlement, theft from enterprises and other infringements investigated in a relatively short period of time, over September 1-15, pointed to the causes of the respective phenomena, which seriously affected most of the citizens, who are now unable to buy in the market many of the goods necessary for a decent living. Worrying is the situation at the frontier stations, where the Romanian tourists take out of the country goods much above the quotas set by regulations in force. In consideration of these situations, the prime minister demanded the government that the legal framework in force be revised as soon as possible and steps be urgently taken to protect the normal commercial circuit and, implicitly, the population aggravated by the shortage of goods in shops. Also, the necessity was highlighted of strict enforcement of the existing laws to fight this state of affairs.

The government members discussed a number of bills that are to be submitted to the Parliament.

Government Commission To Examine Private Company

AU2409164490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1408 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/9/1990—The Romanian Government adopted a decision on the creation of a government commission to analyze the situation of the "Oltcit" Joint Company in Craiova, which shows that, in consideration of the serious state of affairs there, a government commission is needed to examine the technical, financial economic situation and the short-and long-term prospects of that company. The commission is chaired by Mr. Alexandru Stanescu, undersecretary of state.

The report to be worded at the end of that analysis will be espoused by the managements of the ministry of resources and industry including the Machine-Building Department the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Trade and Tourism, the National Bank of Romania and the Romanian Bank for Foreign Trade with a view to making a final decision, the document reads.

The government commission is to submit the results and conclusions of the analysis and specific proposals until October 6, 1990.

Government Meeting Discusses Labor Accidents

AU2409202390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1913 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/09/1990—In its Monday, September 24 meeting the government's executive bureau analyzed the causes of the labor accidents in industry, first and foremost in the chemical and petrochemical industries, established a series of measures to diminish them by strengthening technological discipline and eliminating delinquency in enterprises. The government noted that among the main causes were disregard of work instructions, safety norms, fabrication regulations and decisions of enterprises' managements. Although in comparison with the past years the number of accidents dropped to less than half, the government considers that it is not a reason of satisfaction.

The executive bureau decided to draft and submit to the Parliament for adoption a bill on setting up the public guards body with the intention to guard the economic units of national importance with the help of a militarized body at the disposal of local administration. Decision was also made regarding the release of a government resolution to establish the structures and attributions of administration councils in the economic units due to act until the full application of Law No. 15/1990. That resolution reiterates the idea that the organization and management of the enterprises' activity should be made exclusively by the administration councils and the decision-makers in each economic unit and that any pressure made upon them gravely endangered the resolution efficiency. In that context stress was laid on the fact that certain labor accidents had been due to the replacement under pressure of valuable cadres or to the inadequate activity of certain managerial staff who had made compromises and tolerated misdemeanors to keep their seats.

The government required the state administration local bodies and the police to diversify the actions of the joint control commissions to put an end to the thefts from enterprises, to intentional destruction of their patrimony with the aim of stealing spare parts and goods, to the application of the specific activity to be carried on without labor accidents.

Roman Meets With County Prefects 24 Sep

AU2409191190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1803 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/09/1990—On Monday Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman met at the government's headquarters with county prefects. Analysis was made of concrete aspects regarding the activity of prefectures the majority of which are confronting with great difficulties. A delicate situation is the appointment of commune and town mayors. The prime minister emphasized that in the present transition period, until the local elections, mayors should be appointed those people who represent a factor of equilibrium and can solve the difficult situations in the respective settlements. Emphasis was placed on the fact that the administration staff should be restructured, the prefectures having the duty to promote to those jobs honest people who understand that a new type of administration in accord with the current Romanian realities is needed now.

In connection with the activity in industry confronted with grave acts of indiscipline and neglect the prefects were required to use, in keeping with their prerogatives and together with all those directly interested, all the existing possibilities to make the enterprises cross this difficult period of transition to the market economy. In agriculture the people should be convinced that the most important thing now is to better till the land so that the positive tendency started in that sector in 1990 be continued.

Deputies' Assembly's Weekly Agenda Noted

AU2409163690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1231 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/9/1990—The Chamber of Deputies will have a busy schedule this week. Several of its standing commissions legal, discipline and immunities, budget and finance are due to meet Monday at 2:00 p.m. to advise on several bills.

Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday the Lower Chamber will meet in plenum to discuss and approve each article of the bill on amending the criminal code of criminal procedure, the bill on Romania's adhesion to the convention against torture and inhuman, cruel or degrading punishment or treatment, a bill cancelling the Decree-Law No. 100/1990 on name-giving or changing of names, another to repel Decree No. 367/1981 on the creation of the Motru and Rovinari Industrial-Agrarian Centres in Gorj County and of the Motru and Rovinari Economic Administrations, and other bills.

* Vatra Romaneasca Commended for Cluj Meeting

90P20123A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 12 Aug 90 p 2

[Article by Lecturer Dr. Petru Forna: "Romania and the European Spirit"]

[Text] In the framework of the efforts to reintegrate Romania in its natural geographic, political, and cultural context, the Cluj branch of the Vatra Romaneasca Cultural Union organized a discussion-dialogue on the topic presented in the title of the article, on 27 July of this year. All political groups and all interested parties were invited to the event, including participants in the CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] session in Copenhagen in June 1990 and in the summer session of the Council of Europe Parliament in Innsbruck. In an effort to establish a permanent dialog with the UDMR [Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania], the Vatra Romaneasca Union extended a special invitation to representatives of this political party, an invitation which, unfortunately, received no response.

The idea of organizing this discussion-dialog was suggested to the leadership of Vatra Romaneasca, first of all, by the need to inform its members about the activity of the international relations section of the Union; and, secondly, by the desire to keep the efforts in this domain from standing out, showing them as a part of the continuing efforts of those who love the country, so that the country will be put back, as rapidly as possible, into the natural position which suits it in the European context. The Vatra Romaneasca Union originated out of endless love for Romania and for Romanians, considering that our country was the victim of the game of history, since, after the end of the war, the conquerors imposed upon it alien and unnatural forms of government, as well as a political system which had nothing in common with Romanian aspirations and tradition. Vatra Romaneasca is making considerable efforts to remove the defects which have been imposed for decades. It is strange that the very ones who stood by with indifference, for more than 40 years, in the face of our misfortunes, showing, at best, a circumstantial compassion, are now making difficulties for us in the effort to reintegrate in Europe, accusing us of not having any idea of democracy, after they, with full knowledge and in collusion with the "victors" have excluded us from this democracy, providing grist for the mill of the Communist regime and of the leader from Scornicesti [Ceausescu] (who can forget his triumphant tours in almost all the countries of the world and the way in which he was heaped with honors and academic titles?).

This is why the initiative of Vatra Romaneasca is not only laudable but also welcome. And the action was also successful, even though the Doina Cornea episode cast a shadow over its beginnings to a certain extent. We do not have the authority to judge a personality of her stature (even if we have been saturated up to our necks with "prominent personalities of the comtemporary world"). Without intending to excuse the hostile attitude of the audience toward her, in all responsibility we are expressing our amazement in regard to the hysterical reactions of some people in connection with this incident, reactions to which several press organs have given space. It is sad that a dialog between Doina Cornea and the hall could not have come to be, but she should have known, as a professor who carried on her activity in schools for many years, most recently as an assistant in the department of Romance philology in the Cluj-Napoca Faculty of Literature, a teaching position which she held until her retirement, that for communication to be achieved it is necessary that there be a desire to achieve it. In the case to which we are referring, the audience did not have any such desire. The manner in which the public expressed its disapproval of Doina Cornea and her postrevolutionary activity was, of course, improper, but this does not justify anyone for blaming Vatra Romaneasca and the action which it undertook. Those who could not be consoled because of the absence of the speech of Mrs. Doina Cornea had the opportunity to make up for this loss in two days, in Peace Square in Cluj-Napoca, by listening to her speech from the balcony of the Students' House of Culture.

The initiative of the Vatra Romaneasca Union not only was not a failure, as Virgil Lazar stated in ROMANIA LIBERA on 29 July 1990, but it also brought to those present a large quantity of information, fully contributing to the explanation of lesser-known aspects of the activity of the two European bodies. This is what counts and this is where the significance of this initiative lies—not in certain secondary aspects which, even if they could have been avoided and will and must be avoided in the future, are irrelevant.

Mining Federation Meeting Held in Deva 21 Sep

AU2209155790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1156 GMT 22 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/9/1990—On Friday, the city of Deva venued an extraordinary conference of the Mining Trade Union Federation of Romania, attented by more than 300 representatives of trade unions and leagues of miners from all over the country, as well as by invited guests from the mining department, the mining combine in the Jiu Valley and local bodies.

During the conference a report of the Steering Committee on the Federation's activity since its creation was read and hotly discussed. They also heard a programme for the social protection of miners, which was unanimously adopted. Amendments were made to the statute of the federation, whose steering committee was reshuffled.

Head of Police Diamandescu Released From Office

AU2409182990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1807 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/09/1990—On 24 September 1990, under a resolution of the Romanian Government, Major General Corneliu Diamandescu was released from the office of secretary of state at the Ministry of Interior and head of the general Police Inspectorate and transferred to the National Defense Ministry to receive other assignments.

Former Political Prisoners Protest Treatment

AU2409162890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1115 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/9/1990—The Romanian Association of Former Political Prisoners issued a communique expressing their "indignation with the protest forwarded to the authorities by the ex-members of the former Romanian Communist Party Central Committee in connection with their prison treatment". We find any protest against unfair treatment in violation of the fundamental human rights as justified, says the communique, but not when it comes from those who perpetrated such treatment against the Romanian people for half a century.

Trial of Participants in 13-15 Jun Events Opens

AU2409184990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1710 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/09/1990—On Monday morning, the second penal section of the Bucharest Tribunal opened a trial against 29 defendants, of whom 28 under arrest, who are charged with insult against morals, breaking into party headquarters and damage to the detriment of public property with extremely serious consequences, all committed on June 13.

The defense submitted applications for the suspension of the state of investigative arrest and the court will deliberate on them.

Other people involved in the events at the television station on June 13 are under investigation. As for the people involved in the events at the headquarter of the Ministry of the Interior, the Romanian Intelligence Service and the capital's Polytechnic Institute. They are under investigations conducted by the Military Prosecutor's Offices Directorate.

19 People Given Prison Terms

AU2509100690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0911 GMT 25 Sep 90

["Communique of the Prosecutor's Office on the Persons Arrested on 13-15 June"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/9/990—In connection with the 13-15 June 1990 events in Bucharest the following statement was issued by the Prosecutor's Office and the Ministry of the Interior: 185 persons were detained for flagrant insult against morals and public order, storming the headqurters of state institutions, qualified theft from public and private property and damage of public property.

Legal action was taken against (?those who) are not in prison. Criminal proceedings were stopped against 17 defendants against whom criminal charges could not be brought since psychological tests showed them to be mentally ill. Eighty-one defendants who are under criminal investigation were released from prison.

Investigations continue of fifty-one defendants who are in custody. Of them, 14 are aged under 20, 15 are between 20 and 30 years of age, 17 are in the 30-to-40 age bracket and five are over 40. Furthermore, 27 are unemployed, 20 are workers with different qualifications, and four are schoolchildren. Of the 51 against whom charges were made, nine have a criminal record.

In connection with the said events, sentences were passed on 88 persons in agreement with the provisions of Decree 153/1970 and other normative acts. Prison terms were given to 19 of the 88 accused.

Thirty-six who are under age were interned in special centres and the families of another eleven were given custody of them.

Further Reportage on Constanta Port Strike

Trade, Tourism Ministry Communique

AU2309155490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1419 GMT 23 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/9/1990—In connection with the continuation of the strike in the Sea Port of Constanta as well as on board of the ships under Romanian flag now in foreign ports, we want to state our deep worry about the lack of perspective for its immediate settlement and about the social and economic implications resulting from it, for the foreign trade activity included, reads a document of the Ministry of Commerce and Tourism addressed to the Strike Committee in the Port, which was also sent to the ROMPRES to be released. Likewise, the document expresses the hope that the negotiations will take account of the outstanding economic and social effects the fastest settlement of this situation entails for Romania.

Seamen's Strike Ends

AU2409163490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1219 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/9/1990—Sunday, September 23, 1990, the representatives of the Seamen's Free Union and of the Council of the Constanta Port Union met Doru Pana the minister of public works, transports and physical planning, in an effort to find a solution to the labor conflict started in the biggest port of Romania one week ago. Present were spokesmen for the Ministry of Labor, the Ministry of Commerce and Tourism, the departments for machine building, metallurgy, chemical and petrochemical engineering, building materials, as well as Deputies Ion Ratiu, (Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party), Radu Rosculet (National Liberal Party) and Ion Georgescu (National Salvation Front), nominated by Parliament to participate in the talks.

Minister Doru Pana spoke about the extremely difficult situation of the national economy as a consequence of the strike, which brought loading, unloading and transport activities in the port to a halt.

Tens of Romanian and foreign ships stayed in the harbor for which 150 thousand dollars were paid in demurrages over the past week—thousands of carriages were not used for which four million lei were paid in locations.

After hours of hard bargaining most of the unions' claims were met and the unions decided that port workers start work at 1.00 a.m. and the seamen at 2 p.m.

Public Works Minister's Statement

AU2409201690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1838 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/9/1990—[The] Constanta Port strike which started on September 17 ended on Monday [24 September] [at] four o'clock p.m. [The] strike was called off during a meeting outside the port sea station by the president of the Seamen's Free Union. The meeting, organized by the Alliance of Port Unions, was attended by about 5000 striking sailors, dockers and port workers.

In his address at the meeting, Mr. Doru Pana, minister of public works, transport and physical planning, promised the causes which had led to that labor conflict would be further investigated even after the strike ended.

The leaders of the unions on strike underlined in their addresses that they intended to make up for the losses they caused to the national economy the shortest possible time.

Tirnaveni Chemical Plant Explosion Kills Five

AU2409144690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0800 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] This morning, at around 0700 [0400 GMT], an explosion took place at the calcium carbide kiln No.5 of the Tirnaveni [Mures County] Chemical Combine. According to the first information that we received from the technical director of the combine, the worn out mechanical and electrical equipment and the molten mass, which was thrown out from the exploded kiln, prevented the proper ventilation of gas. As a result of the explosion, fire also broke out in the respective area, but it was brought under control.

As Stefan Neagu, reporter of the territorial Tirgu Mures radio station, informed us, up to this hour he learned that five people were killed by the explosion and 10 workers were hospitalized, two of them in serious condition with second and third grade burns.

[Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 1000 GMT on 24 September, in a similar report adds the following: "The explosion caused great material damage and the technological process had to be stopped for a long period. After the fire—which broke out after the explosion—was brought under control, the team of expert physicians from Tirnaveni Hospital and from the Tirgu Mures Medical and University Center started to make efforts to save the lives of the injured persons and succeeded in reducing the number of the hospitalized from 10 to six people. Likewise, collectives of technical experts are attempting to estimate the damage and are drafting a number of measures in order to ensure a speedy resumption of work of the whole technological installation at the calcium carbide kiln No. 5 at the Tirnaveni Chemical platform. Concurrently, a thorough investigation is being carried out to find out the causes which led to the explosion.]

Newspapers Slow Production; Short of Paper

AU2309194590 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 19 Sep 90 p 1

[ROMANIA LIBERA-signed boxed-in note: "Press in Danger"]

[Text] As a sign of solidarity with our colleagues at the TINERETUL LIBER newspaper, and in protest against the power's lack of interest regarding the fate of the Romanian press, the ROMANIA LIBERA newspaper is also running only two pages today.

We note that yesterday until 1600 we also had to face the situation of running only two pages. Through great efforts, at a very late hour, it became possible to run four pages and the day's material was handed over to the printing works. However....

"The TINERETUL LIBER newspaper appears today just like did on the first day of the revolution, that is, on only two pages.

"Why is that so?!? Simply because we did not have more paper.

"Excuse us, esteemed readers, and, if it is not too much to ask of you, please congratulate our colleagues at ADEVARUL, because here is the confirmation of the fact that we were lying when we claimed that we were in danger. [sentence as published] So help them, God! With confidence in the bright future of our country, let us go forward!" (This is the complete text which appeared above the masthead of the TINERETUL LIBER newspaper.)

IF THERE IS NO PRESS, THERE IS NOTHING.... [sentence in all capital letters as published] Without us, you will be so lonely.

ROMANIA LIBERA

6 Former Top Kosovo Officials Being Investigated

LD2109144790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1348 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Pristina, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—The Pristina district court announced today that, at the demand of the district public prosecutor's office, it has decided to start an investigation against six former members of the Kosovo Executive Council and the former director of Pristina Radio and Television. They are charged with setting-up a group whose aim was to change the borders of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and proclaim Kosovo a republic by unconsitutional means.

The statement says that an investigation is under way against Jusuf Zejnulahu, former president of the Kosovo Executive Council; Seljadin Skeja, former secretary for transport and communications; Muhamet Bicaj, former secretary for education, science and culture; Jusuf Karakusi, former secretary for internal affairs; Lek Vuksani, former secretary for labor, health and social policy; Isa Mustafa, former member of the Kosovo Executive Council; and Agim Malja, former director of Pristina Radio and Television.

The decision to investigate was made, according to the statement, on the basis of founded suspicion that they committed a criminal act of association for hostile activity under Article 136, paragraph one of the SFRY penal code related to the criminal act of endangering territorial integrity under Article 116, paragraph two of the same law.

"The above named persons are charged with forming a group at the beginning of July 1990 with the aim of changing by unconstitutional means the borders of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and of proclaiming Kosovo a republic. With this aim in mind, they held several secret meetings in private apartments and working organizations in Pristina, as well as other places in the country; they agreed to prevent and had prevented the implementation of decisions made and measures undertaken by the state bodies of the Socialist Republic of Serbia aimed at the stabilization of the situation in Kosovo and thus, they paralyzed life in the province. With their unconstitutional activity they created conditions for the proclamation of 'the constitution' and 'the republic of Kosovo', for which they sought and secured support from some other republics and individuals in federal bodies."

"The Pristina district court ruled that the offenders will be detained," the statement of this court announces.

TU on 'Mass Dismissals' of Albanians in Kosovo

AU2509140590 Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 21 Sep 90 pp 4-5

[Emin Azemi and Blerim Reka report: "Wretched Position of the Work Force"]

[Excerpt] Pristina, 20 Sep—Kosovo's autumn of fear and destitution begins. At the backdoors of poor homes, the master of the house rarely appears to issue orders for the purchase of winter stores. Instead, he issues another order: "Take care of yourself and come home before dark." Thus Albanian life in Kosovo continues its daily course, bounded by fear and insecurity, and caught between life and death.

Instead of the conclusions of old party plenums, the plans of the Peonyites and the Memorandum [references to the members of the Serbian Bozur Association and the Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences] are now being meticulously carried out in the mass dismissals of Albanian workers, the arrests of the Kosovo Assembly delegates, visits of Serbian death squads to Albanian villages, and so forth.

The brutal measures of the Serbian police state against the Albanian people in Kosovo began to intensify after 3 September, the day of the general strike, and after 13 September, the day of the announcement of the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo. Albanian workers and the Kosovo Assembly delegates were the first to suffer from these measures. The whiplash of revenge fell on the former because of their general strike, and on the latter because of the Kosovo Constitution.

Authentic testimony about the extent of the alarming situation among the masses of Albanian workers was provided at the most recent news conference of the Association of Independent Kosovo Trade Unions [Bashkimi i Sindikatave te Pavarura te Kosoves—BSPK], at which journalists were told in detail about the number of dismissed Albanian workers, the fall in production, and the Serbian police's intervention in successful Kosovo collectives.

New Wave of Police Repression

At the beginning of this news conference, the current BSPK leader, Dr. Agim Hyseni, informed journalists about the new wave of repression against Albanian workers and citizens. This wave, he said, gathered strength after 13 September, the day of the declaration of the Republic of Kosovo, and claimed four persons killed and many wounded and arrested. Those arrested included members of the Kosovo Assembly, who are BSPK members and whose immunity is recognized by law and can only be removed by the organ which granted it, i.e. the Kosovo Assembly. Kosovo ministers and well-known, lawful managing directors were also detained for questioning. The BSPK strongly protests and appeals to the independent trade unions of the other republics, the province of Vojvodina, and international trade unions, with the aim of putting an end to these arbitrary acts of repression by the Serbian state. As a result, Dr. Agim Hyseni said, the position of non-Serbian workers in Kosovo has deteriorated even further, and the number of dismissed workers has increased to 16,000, a figure which is still rising. Where the right to life is not respected, it is vain to expect the equally vital right to work to be respected. Albanian, Turkish, and Muslim workers are still being dismissed from their jobs without regard to procedure, and are being replaced by Serbs wherever there are Serbs who come to fill their jobs. Not a single young Albanian has been employed in Kosovo in the past year, and wages are several months late in those collectives where Albanians are still working. The shops of Albanian tradesmen are also being closed, and the tradesmen have been fined and banned from exercising their professions for one year. All these things are not only against the Constitution but even against the Serbian Assembly's law on special circumstances, which in practice is enforced only against the Albanians.

The BSPK leader said that the Kosovo general strike of 3 September is being used as a pretext for these arbitrary decisions. The number of 80,000 families in Kosovo without a single member employed, recorded on 1 September 1990, is rising fast. All this is being carried out with the help of the police, who are exercising the functions of the political, economic, legal, health, educational, and cultural authorities, because it is the police who are removing Albanian personnel from their offices, political and governmental posts, and jobs in managing the economy and trade. If the law gives the police this right, it becomes impossible to enforce court decisions, because people are sentenced in the offices of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs. Albanian personnel are even being removed from the health service and the university. Agim Hyseni then informed journalists that there is now not a single Albanian militiaman in uniform, not even at the militia secondary school in Vucitrn.

As a result of these measures, fear has been institutionalized; the police and the police state are able to spy, to offend and outrage human dignity, to beat and maltreat, to enter homes and workplaces by force, and even to kill, as we see from the most recent casualties. The measures of force and the removal of Albanian personnel in handcuffs also causes this state of fear, especially in the Surgical Clinic, where there is nobody left to offer help at a time when there is every possibility of more people being wounded and injured. Meanwhile, the only remaining Albanian in the political and economic leadership at Kosovo level is the famous Rrahman Morina. Dr. Agim Hyseni said that the old practice of institutional discrimination has reemerged, under which positions of leadership are reserved for Serbs and Montenegrins, while Albanians may work in subordinate posts, as long as they are obedient.

The fact that morning school shifts are reserved for Serbian and Montenegrin pupils and that Serbian students may enroll without an entrance examination testifies to a continuation of the policy of apartheid and segregation. Faced with this policy, Albanian pupils, parents, and workers are behaving with moderation and dignity, thus avoiding the conflicts imposed by the hegemonistic Serbian bureaucracy. In this way, the Albanian people show their readiness for dialogue, which has also recently been advocated by Serbian pupils, parents, and the genuine Serbian intelligentsia.

The BSPK will continue to the end in its commitment to equality and the right to life and work, alongside all the citizens of Yugoslavia, and will pursue this commitment by peaceful and democratic means. [passage omitted]

Militia Attacked in Kosovo; New Poisonings

AU2409152490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] The headquarters of the special militia force of the Serbian Secretariat for Internal Affairs stated today that there has been another attack on a militia patrol and that this took place in Pec yesterday [23 September]. Three of the militiamen's attackers were wounded. Here is a report about this and other events in Kosovo from Milivoje Mihajlovic:

[Mihajlovic] Since the lives of militiamen were under a direct threat, one of them, as the statement points out, wounded three attackers, Muhamed Kastrati, a former employee of the Pec traffic police, Hasan Zekaj from the village of Ljubusa near Decani, and Hani Hisenaj.

The attack happened when a militia patrol stopped several wedding cars which were passing through the center of Pec. The occupants of the cars fired several shots from the vehicles. Immediately after stopping the column of cars in the Rasadnik district, a number of people got out of the cars and physically attacked militiamen with sticks and stones.

Muhamed Kastrati knocked one militiaman down, grabbed his rifle, and opened fire on other members of the patrol. One of the militiamen replied in kind.

The statement of the headquarters of the special militia force of the Serbian Secretariat for Internal Affairs stresses that two militiamen were injured by stones. Weapons were taken from the attackers and 16 people who are thought to have taken part in the attack were detained.

The news about the investigation of half of the members of the former Kosovo Government is still being commented on here.

Seljadin Skeja, former transportation and communications minister, and Lek Vuksani, former minister for labor and social policy, have been detained. Jusuf Zejnulahu, former president of the Executive Council, Jusuf Karakusi, former head of the Kosovo Militia, Muhamed Bicaj and Isa Mustafa, members of the former government, and Agim Malja, former director of Pristina Radio and Television have been put on the wanted list.

Unofficial but reliable sources claim that all except Malja, who is in the United States, are hiding outside Kosovo. Ekrem Bekeri, a delegate of the former Kosovo Assembly, was killed in Maribor. As we have learned, his family in Orahovac was officially told that he committed suicide. Out of 111 delegates who allegedly took part in the proclamation of the Constitution of the Republic of

Kosovo in Kacanik, four delegates have been detained. Others are still being sought.

In the last few days there have again been cases of single nationality poisoning among the secondary and primary school pupils of Albanian nationality in Kosovo. Several of them today sought help in the Pristina Clinic.

Talks Between Ruling Serbs, Opposition Break Down

AU2409165390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Sep 90 p 5

[D. Sverko report: "We Do Not Want To Be a Decoration"]

[Excerpt] Belgrade—What had been anticipated at the beginning of yesterday's meeting between Zoran Sokolovic, president of the Serbian Assembly, and the representatives of opposition parties, happened one and half hours later. Dissatisfied over Sokolovic's failure to answer the question—what is the purpose of a meeting that is convened at the last minute and only one week before the constitution of Serbia is adopted and the election laws take effect—the representatives of the opposition parties (the meeting was attended by the representatives of 22 political parties and the Socialist Party of Serbia) left the Executive Council hall where the meeting was held.

Vojislav Kostunica, president of the Democratic Party, summed up the dissatisfaction of the representatives of the opposition—who had sought a roundtable discussion about the constitution and election laws—because, as pointed out, yesterday's meeting served as decoration for a fait accompli, and because they had not been received by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian Presidency. He said that it was impolite not to have offered an answer to this question during the entire meeting. He referred to Zoran Sokolovic who described the opposition's demands to be received by Slobodan Milosevic as impolite and ultimative. The time of ultimatums is over and President Milosevic can talk with the representatives of the opposition if he receives a request and not an ultimatum, Sokolovic said.

At Vojislav Kostunica's invitation, almost all of them left the meeting. Only the representatives of the Socialist Party of Serbia, the Party of Social Justice, the New Communist Movement, and the Democratic Political Party of Romanies of Kragujevac remained at the table. [passage omitted]

[Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 21 September on page 4 carries the following unattributed "explanation":

"The report on the meeting of Assembly President Zoran Sokolovic with the representatives of Serbian opposition parties on the day before yesterday includes a technical error: It is said in the report that Zivan Haravan, president of the Party of Social Justice, was among those people who remained at the meeting while others walked out but, in fact, he left the meeting with the others."]

Opposition Issues Statement on Serb Constitution

LD2409154290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1405 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Novi Sad, 24 Sep (TANJUG)—In view of the fact that throughout the current stage of the work on the new constitution of the Republic of Serbia we have been prevented from influencing in an effective way the policy of the one-party regime, we have decided, through this statement, to acquaint the citizens of Vojvodina, Serbia, and Yugoslavia with our main views on and the attitude toward the new constitution.

This was stressed in a statement issued today by Vojvodina's opposition parties and organizations in connection with the forthcoming adoption of the Serbian constitution.

The constitution is incongruous with the political platforms and goals advocated by our parties and organizations, the statement adds.

In their statement, the League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina [Liga Socijaldemokrata Vojvodine], the All-National Democratic Front of Vojvodina [Svenacionalni Demokratski Front Vojvodine], the Association of Ruthenians and Ukrainians of Yugoslavia [Savez Rusina i Ukrajinaca Jugoslavije] and the Democratic Alliance of Croats in Vojvodina [Demokratski Savez Hrvata Vojvodine] insist that the proposal for the constitution ignores the entity and denies the political uniqueness of Vojvodina even more blatantly than the current imposed constitutional order.

Serbian United Opposition Plans To Sue Milosevic

AU2409184290 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Because the Social Accounting Service of Serbia has not received a decision that the Socialist Party of Serbia is the legal heir of the monies in the giro and other accounts of the League of Communists and the Socialist Alliance of Serbia, the united Serbian opposition will file criminal charges against the president of the Socialist Party of Serbia.

The opposition will ask the Serbian Assembly to undertake all the necessary measures to prevent the unlawful use of these funds. This was stated by the unofficial press spokesman of the united opposition, Milenko Radic of the Radical Party.

The People's Radical Party, which does not have resources or business premises, has scheduled a news conference in the Serbian Assembly on 26 September. The radicals asked Zoran Sokolovic, president of the Serbian Assembly, to provide them with offices.

Serb Assembly Group Endorses Draft Constitution

LD2409201590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Sep (TANJUG)—"The Republic of Serbia is the democratic state of all the citizens living in it and it is based on the freedoms and rights for man and citizen alike, on the rule of law, and on social justice."

This is the new, modified, version of Article 1 of Serbia's future constitution, which was verified today by the Serbian Assembly's Commission for Constitutional Issues. The commission met to consider the views of the Assembly's working bodies on the text of the draft of the republic's supreme legal document, and a number of remarks, suggestions, and recommendations the commission received after the document had been completed. The commission has recommended the Assembly endorse them.

Under the proposal adopted today citizens alone will have the power to decide on changes in the republic's borders through a referendum. The coat of arms, the flag, and the national anthem of the Republic of Serbia will be decided upon in a procedure envisioned by a modified provision. This means the assembly will pass the relevant decision by a two-thirds majority and final decision will be made by citizens through a referendum.

The part of the document that refers to citizens' rights of worship clearly states that the freedom to worship is guaranteed. This freedom implies the freedom to believe, the freedom to religious practice, and the freedom to perform religious rites.

The discussion today was largely devoted to the issue of the official use of the language and to the dilemma of whether to keep or drop from the constitution the reference to socially owned property. It was agreed that Serbo-Croat and the Cyrillic script are the offical language and script, respectively. The Latin script is in offical use as stipulated by the law. The reference to socially owned property will remain in the text of the constitution.

The part of the constitution that regulates the status of the provinces will include a new paragraph under which the Republic of Serbia can enact a law transferring some of its own rights and powers onto the autonomous province and providing necessary resources for it.

The commission also accepted a proposal by the Serbian Orthodox Church and some other institutions under which the constitution should grant the republic the right to maintain links with members of the Serbian nation living outside its borders to preserve their national, cultural, and historic identity.

The commission also upheld the proposal of the president's oath before the republic's Assembly upon taking the office of the president of the republic. Under the oath the president pledges to devote all his efforts to safeguard the sovereignty and integrity of the Republic of Serbia, to implement human and civil rights and freedoms, to respect and defend the constitution and the law, to preserve peace and the well-being of all the citizens of the Republic of Serbia, and to execute all his duties in a conscientious and responsible manner.

Delegates of all three chamber of the republic's Assembly will discuss and assess the new constitution at their session on 26 September. The constitutions is expected to be adopted and formally promulgated on 28 September.

Serbian Economic Reform Program Published

AU2209170790

[Editorial Report] Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian on 20 September on pages 9-14 carries a 20,000-word "shortened version" of "The Program of the Implementation of the Reform and the Basic Elements of the Development of the Economy of Serbia" as a pull-out supplement, which is introduced on page 1 with the following advertisement under the headline: "The Program of the Implementation of the Reform and the Basic Elements of the Development of the Economy of Serbia."

"Proceeding from the fact that Serbia no longer can consent to the implementation of the federal concept of a macroeconomic policy which brings grave economic and social consequences, as well as from its support for a true federation, because of which it cannot and does not want to accept that any republic be brought to an unequal, asymmetric position, the Executive Council of Serbia has drafted and adopted the day before yesterday the Program of the Implementation of the Reform and the Basic Elements of the Development of the Economy of Serbia.

"This document, which also emanates from the work of the Commission for the Reform of the Economic System of the Presidency of Serbia, is made specific in six additional projects and programs (on the taxation system, farming, housing, technological development, social activities, and state organization). All together they form a set of documents for the implementation of comprehensive economic and social reform in Serbia.

"As a special supplement, we carry in our today's issue a shortened version of the document 'The Program of the Implementation of the Reform and the Basic Elements of the Development of the Economy of Serbia.'"

The program has an introduction and two parts, "A Critical Reflection on the Present Recession-Causing Concept of the Reform Implementation," and "Serbia's Program for the Implementation of the Economic Reform." The latter contains the following sections: "The Necessity of a Macroeconomic Reform," "Ownership Restructuring of Social Enterprises," "Is an Ownership Restructuring a Satisfactory Solution While Social Ownership Exists," "The Reform of the Management System and Collective Agreements," "The Need for

Changes in the Economic Structure of Serbia," "Intensification of Investment—an Indispensable Condition," "The Basic Components of the Development Economic Policy," and "The Necessity of Taking Some Specific Measures and Solutions."

Party of National Accord To Seek Registration

LD2109171190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1235 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—In the middle of next week a request will be submitted to the Republican Secretariat for Justice of Serbia for the registration of the Party of National Accord [Stranka Narodne Sloge—SNS]. Representatives of the initiative committee—chairman Dr. Blazo Perovic, Dr. Vladimir Kilibarda, and Ostoja Krstic—spoke today about the party's program to journalists in the international press center.

It was stressed that the basic aim of the party is "concern for concord among and benefits to, above all, the Serbian people, citizens of Serbia, and other areas inhabited by Serbs, as well as all other nations and national minorities prepared to live with the Serbian people in mutual tolerance and in respect for the right to differences."

The party advocates a federal Yugoslavia and a parliamentary democracy of the republican type and, according to statements by its leading officials, it has a social-democratic orientation.

Croatia's Mesic on Knin, Istria, Serbian Ties

AU2009115690 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Sep 90 p 2

[Report on interview with Stipe Mesic, "still unconfirmed member of the SFRY Presidency," by Seada Vranic; place and date not given: "We Are Not Thinking About Secession"]

[Excerpts] The conversation with Mr. Stipe Mesic did not begin, as we originally intended, with the question about his imminent departure for the SFRY Presidency to assume the post of vice president. The current situation in Croatia, or to be more specific, the talks between the Croatian authorities and the representatives of the Knin commune about the return of weapons to the local militia station, compelled us to ask Stipe Mesic to comment on the current situation and even predict future events.

"Everybody in Croatia, and I personally, feel considerably relieved that the so-called Knin case has been resolved peacefully. Tensions have subsided thanks to the functioning of the system's institutions and thanks to the reasonable people in them who understood the scenario behind the recent events which the people from Knin—and via them people from some other communes, people who run politics in these communes—were simply drawn into. Having realized where all this was leading to, they came to their senses and weapons were returned in these communes. [passage omitted]

[Vranic] Until now weapons have not been returned in Knin despite the fact that an agreement has been reached. Dr. Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, stated in an interview to Belgrade Television that weapons should be returned but only after the causes of the revolt have been removed.

[Mesic] Setting conditions is not compatible with the functioning of the state and nobody can demand that the state act in accordance with its powers. I am surprised by Jovic's answer, because he, as president of the state, knows that weapons must be unconditionally returned and that problems must be resolved with political means. Otherwise, one could interpret this answer only as support for those who attack the institutions of the system and the state of which he is the president, because this is still Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

[Vranic] A few days ago, Slobodan Milosevic appealed to the citizens of Serbia to turn to work and creativity and not to constantly look back to the past, not to look for the culprits of every problem and mistake somewhere else.

[Mesic] For three years Mr. Milosevic claimed something else. I do not know what this turnabout means. If he is sincere that Serbia should turn to itself and find itself within itself, then I can only welcome this. Of course, I could say the same thing for Croatia. Let Croatia find itself within itself. Let Slovenia do the same....[passage omitted]

[Vranic] Would the question of internal borders be raised in case there is a referendum on a confederation?

[Mesic] This would not be prudent. After all, this is regulated by Helsinki.

[Vranic] Only outside borders are regulated.

[Mesic] The republics are sovereign states and the 1974 Constitution clearly states that there must be a consensus on the questions concerning the sovereignty of the republics. Borders are one such question. Therefore, borders cannot be changed without a consensus.

[Vranic] One could draw a different conclusion from Jovic's interview to Belgrade Television. It appears that he is suggesting a possibility according to which certain parts of the republics which, for instance, opt for a confederation can secede from these republics if they do not agree with a confederation, and join the "rest" of federal Yugoslavia.

[Mesic] I am afraid this kind of thinking is not very consistent. Something like this would be an untenable precedent in constitutional practice, regardless of which parts of the republics are calculated on as potential "secessionists." To be more specific, Mr. Jovic is wrong if he thinks that the citizens of Serbian nationality, the citizens of those communes in which Serbs constitute a majority, could secede from Croatia or perhaps Bosnia-Hercegovina. If he thinks along these lines, could the same not apply to the Muslims in the Sandzak, not to mention the majority population in Kosovo.

Such unrealistic provocative thinking attaches itself to the dubious thesis according to which all those who want to, can leave Yugoslavia and take with them what they brought to it.

[Vranic] Would some republics in that case not be worse off. For instance, Croatia without Istria....

[Mesic] Certainly not. Istria is united into Croatia, but now, according to this thesis, should be given to Serbia because there are Serbian graves there. The end result of such options is that out of all the coastal towns Croatia would only be left with Sibenik, at least this is what "new" geography maps show. I do not know why they did not include Sibenik, as if they did not remember it. All this would be funny if it were not so tragic. Unfortunately we live with such absurdities. Is it not absurd when somebody says that Kosovo belongs to Serbia because Kosovo is the cradle of Serbian statehood and therefore must be Serbian regardless of what the majority of the population is, and then say that Vojvodina (which never belonged to Serbia in history) is also Serbian because Serbs constitute the majority there? How is it that in the case of Serbia different criteria apply; sometimes this involves historical rights, another time the size of population, a third time, graves.... [passage omitted]

The borders have been determined. Perhaps they are not determined in the best way, but they are best left alone. Even Croatia is split in one place (by Bosnia-Hercegovina's exit to the coast at Neum).

[Vranic] Are you perhaps considering the return of that corridor?

[Mesic] We are not working on it or considering it. [passage omitted]

[Vranic] Since you have mentioned Bosnia-Hercegovina, some people consider it to be the key to the Yugoslav crisis. People also talk about the aspirations of both East and West toward this republic.

[Mesic] For us Bosnia is not a key, it is a sovereign state, a state equal to others. [passage omitted]

[Vranic] Talking about a new state model, the question of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] is unavoidable. The current model contains various combinations and speculations.

[Mesic] The Croatian authorities have and would like to have good relations with the JNA, because this army is made up of all citizens and all peoples and nationalities. If you are alluding to the events in Knin (I know that there were not only some speculations about the army but also some attempts to abuse it), then I can say that my personal opinion is that the JNA leadership did not fall for a trick and did not allow itself to be drawn into the scenario according to which the army was supposed to have intervened in the Knin uprising and protect the rebels. Of course, there were some cases of individual officers reacting differently from the army leadership. We also know that even before the helicopters of the Ministry for Internal Affairs took off, certain colonels said that the helicopters would never get where they were supposed to be going. [passage omitted]

[Vranic] Do Croatian politicians have an alternative option up their sleeve? More specifically, are you in the republican leadership thinking about secession or forming a completely independent state of Croatia which some extreme parties are striving for?

[Mesic] We are not thinking about secession even though a law on secession is being offered to us. This is totally absurd. Croatian people, like all other Yugoslav peoples, have entered the joint state voluntarily and have the sovereign right to self-determination, including secession. This is an inalienable right and I do not see any need for somebody else to offer a new law on secession. My feeling is that somebody wants to kick us out of Yugoslavia. Let me repeat this, Croats have voluntarily joined Yugoslavia with other peoples and want to rearrange it voluntarily with other peoples. [passage omitted]

[Vranic] In this conversation you frequently mentioned Serbs, Serbia, the Serbian policy, and the Serbian scenario and scenario writers. Reading the press I see that you recently visited Belgrade. Do your impressions correspond to what you have just been talking about?

[Mesic] I actually just wanted to say something about my impressions and let this be the end of our conversation. I visited Belgrade with Mr. Tudjman. We walked through Skadarlija [old part of Belgrade known for traditional restaurants], visited "The Three Hats," "The Two Doves," and the writers' club. I have very nice impressions. I enjoyed myself, there was not a single incident or provocation. I can say that people came up to us to shake our hands. For me this was a proof that ordinary people want peace in this country and that they are fed up with politics and politicking, that people believe that we also want peace. This makes me happy. But I can say that people in other cities, and in Croatia, want to live in peace. I do not exclude the citizens of Knin either. I know that a great majority of people want all quarrels to stop; they want to concentrate on work, and live peacefully and more prosperously. This fact is encouraging but it also warns us that it is high time for problems in Yugoslavia to be resolved in a democratic way.

Croatia's Communists Favor Parliamentary System

AU2509083090 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Sep 90 p 3

[M. Krmpotic report: "The Constitution Must Protect Serbs"]

[Text] Zagreb—Political quarrels, extreme solutions, the use of force, and the refusal to recognize constitutional and other decisions of any kind are making the situation in Yugoslavia more dramatic and explosive as each day passes. We are, therefore, against one-sided statements, which on one hand express joy and congratulations at the proclamation of Kosovo as a new state and a readiness to sacrifice the last Albanian in pursuit of an anti-Serbian policy, and on the other hand, statements such as that of the Federal Executive Council which condemn Albanian extremism alone and fail to condemn the state terror and the violations of the Albanians' human and national rights. This was the stand of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia—Party of Democratic Changes [SKH-SDP] on the Kosovo Assembly's declaration of a republic, which was announced by Dr. Zdravko Tomac, Central Committee member, at yesterday's news conference.

Tomac said that we do not support this act but we can understand it in today's difficult situation in Yugoslavia, adding that the SKH-SDP propose that everyone in Yugoslavia should accept that the internal borders of the republics are inviolable and unchangeable. This is a basic condition for avoiding civil war, and in this connection the SFRY Assembly must urgently provide the foundations for a common life, which would create preconditions for a peaceful and democratic outcome of the Yugoslav crisis and for a new historical agreement among our peoples.

Dr. Stipe Ivanisevic, president of the SKH-SDP's "shadow cabinet," expressed the basic stands of his party regarding the adoption of the new Croatian republican constitution. It must be the expression of the basic commitment of all democratic forces in the republic, Ivanisevic stressed. We advocate a parliamentary rather than a presidential system. For us, the argument that we are in an exceptional political situation, and that this requires a concentration of power in the office of president, is unacceptable. There is a tendency in the organization of state power, Ivanisevic said, to imitate the French Constitution of 1958, which arose under exceptional circumstances and for an exceptional personality (it was written for de Gaulle). Adding to Ivanisevic's statement, Dr. Tomac remarked that some African countries adopted the French Constitution, but still found themselves in a catastrophe.

It was stressed that Croatia is too complicated and diverse for a monolithic constitution, although the new government is not hiding its intentions of introducing one of this kind. As for the position of the Serbs in Croatia, the constitution must necessarily include a protective mechanism which would protect the rights of minority peoples. In this instance, we must proceed from the experience of the civilized world (Finland is the closest model to our circumstances). If there is no such mechanism, the constitution will open political questions, and will be an act destabilizing instead of stabilizing Croatia.

Croat Presidency on Constitutional Amendments

LD2409204290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1902 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Zagreb, 24 Sep (TANJUG)—The Croat Presidency is of the view that during the passage of the amendments to the SFRY Constitution, each step paving the way for democracy and economic reform should be supported. A statement from the Croat Presidency session reads:

"Today's session of the Presidency of the republic, chaired by Vice President Antun Vrdoljak, discussed proposed amendments 49 to 73 to the SFRY Constitution forwarded to the Croat Assembly by the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly.

"The Presidency holds that the passage of the amendments should proceed from the aspiration that also in the interim period, i.e. until an agreement on the future nature of relations between republics and provinces, support is lent to each step advancing democracy and providing conditions for the implementation of the economic reform. Therefore, participants' amendments should be given the go ahead.

"The Presidency cautions that the amendments to the SFRY Constitution can be adopted only in the manner determined by the Constitution. In connection with this, it voices deep concern over the dissolution of the Kosovo Assembly."

Disturbance Reported as 20,000 Attend HDZ Rally

LD2209213790 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Sep 90

[Ante Javankovic report on Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ) public forum held in Mostar—live]

[Excerpts] A dignified and peaceful meeting of the municipal organisation of the HDZ for Mostar, held this afternoon on the grounds of the Velez football club, began with a provocation by a group of adolescents, who passed through the forest of Croatian tricolour flags with the official Yugoslav flag. Approximately 20,000 people gathered and behaved in a dignified manner on this special occasion: there was clapping and the occasional whistle, and it seemed that an era of irrationality and dogmatism was making its departure from the political and historical scene. [passage omitted]

Goran Miljanovic, leader of the municipal organisation of the Serbian Democratic Party, who stressed that these meetings should be bridges and fortresses of all the peoples of Bosnia-Hercegovina, received applause.

Miro Kovac from Posusje turned his attention to an unpleasant event during a farewell party for new recruits from Posusje when, without any reason at all, several young men were beaten at the Mostar railway station, and one person from Posusje ended up in Mostar jail, and those present then chanted "Let us go to the jail." [passage omitted]

Vojvodina Serbs From Croatia Favor Autonomy

AU2409175590 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Sep 90 p 15

[Unattributed TANJUG report: "99.7 Percent of Vojvodina Serbs From Croatia Favor Autonomy"]

[Text] Novi Sad, 19 Sep—More than 69,000 Vojvodina people who come from Croatia expressed their support for the autonomy of Serbs in Croatia, it was announced today by the Provincial Organizational Committee for the Plebiscite on the Autonomy of Serbs in Croatia.

Out of the number of Vojvodina Serbs stemming from Croatia who voted about the matter, 99.7 percent voted in favor of autonomy. The largest turnouts were registered in Novi Sad, Sombor, Apatin, and Pancevo.

Slovene Christian Democrats Hold First Assembly

AU2409084290 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Sep 90 p 3

[S. Sicarov report: Sovereign Slovenia Featuring on the Map of Europe"]

[Text] Ptuj—This Saturday [15 September], the oldest Slovene town played host to the most significant event on the Slovene political scene since the elections—the First Conference of Christian Democrats. Although the Christian Democratic party had ambitious plans for this all-day performance—it had invited the prime ministers of Italy, Austria, and Hungary, Chancellor Kohl and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, and announced organized arrivals of the party organizations from all Slovene communes—the assembly was much more modest. Among about 15 foreign guests there were members of the Christian Democratic Internationale, members of the Italian and Austrian Governments who belong to Christian democratic parties. Prominent figures sent representatives. Representatives of the Croatian Democratic Community and Croatian Christian Democrats were also present. About 1,500 people attending the conference were not given an opportunity to greet Joze Pucnik, leader of Demos [United Opposition], the ruling coalition in which members of Christian Democratic Party are the most numerous. Other parties' presidents were also not present; only Dimitrij Rupel, president of the Slovene Democratic Alliance, attended the session.

This, however, did not prevent Joze Pucnik, prime minister and president of the Christian Democratic Party, to say that "strong Christian Democrats are a condition for a strong Demos," and thus stress his party's leading role in the ruling coalition. The president of the Christian Democratic Party also pointed out that Slovenia is becoming a "political concept in Europe to which it belongs both as regards culture and as regards tradition," as well as that Slovenia will soon be assigned its place as a sovereign state on the new European political map. Yugoslavia has failed twice and now, preparing for a new state, we are paying out the debts of 45 years of totalitarianism, Peterle said. The Slovene Government is now working on creating a sovereign Slovenia, and a Slovene state is a prerequisite for negotiations with the others about a new state, and, according to the Slovene prime minister, the only possible way of life within the present borders is a confederation. It will be difficult to get to the new state, but we are going to feel better then, Peterle told the participants of the conference and added that "this is going to be a hot winter."

Austrian representative Erhard Busek pointed out that "Italy, Austria, and Slovenia have a great common past and future," and the representative of the Christian Democratic Internationale, Alen de Bruver [name as published] conveyed the Internationale's support to Slovenia's efforts toward a sovereign state within a confederation. The most prominent of all guests, Karlo Bernini [name as published], president of the Association of European Regions, expressed his congratulations on the autonomy and said that Europe is big enough to provide room for all Slovenes.

Slovenes Prepare New Party on Markovic Program

AU2209190390 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 Sep 90

[Text] A new political party may be in the offing in Slovenia. The so-called Belgrade Slovenes—Zivko Pregl, Rado Bohinc, and Ivo Vajgl—had talks about this with a group of distinguished people from the business and sociopolitical circles of Slovenia behind closed doors at the Holiday Inn hotel in Ljubljana. Exactly what this new party will be is still a secret. Relja Atanasijevic reports:

[Atanasijevic] According to unofficial reports leaked from the ranks of the individuals who attended the secret meeting at the Ljubljana hotel, this will be a new Slovene party which will not be a branch of the Markovic's Alliance of Reform Forces. Those in the know say that it will take its place between the political left and the center. In the logic of things, this place belongs to social democracy which, as an existing party in Demos [United Opposition], has taken its place in the triangle of the established politics from the left to the center.

Therefore, it is no surprise that the new Slovene political party has not yet chosen its name. According to second-hand reports, it wants to act in Slovenia like any other party, on the basis of its program based on Markovic's program, which in the opinion of Belgrade Slovenes, is also supported by some other parties in the republic and partially even by the Slovene Government.

It seems that the secret meeting at the Holiday Inn was a preliminary introduction to specific talks later. It has been learned that the view was expressed at the Ljubljana hotel that a certain vacuum exists in the Slovene political space which can be filled by distinguished businessmen and politicians with the ideas and aims of the new party.

Representatives of other political parties in Ljubljana have posed the question: Why was the initiative meeting held in secret? One hears the reply that some of those invited agreed to attend only under the condition that the meeting was closed.

Internal Relations Between Bosnian Parties Viewed

AU2409083990 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 13 Sep 90 p 2

[Vojko Flegar commentary: "Bosnia-Hercegovina Between the Hammer and the Anvil"]

[Text] The Drina Region, western and eastern Hercegovina, Bosnian and Cazin Marches, the Vrbas valley.... In some of these places, special police units had to take steps and in others they will shortly be forced to do so. If Kosovo, Knin, Sandzak, and western Macedonia are "isolated" laboratories for experimentally finding the critical mass of nationalisms of all kinds, fate has obviously assigned Bosnia-Hercegovina the role of the republic which will have to lend its "entire territory" to such experiments.

This "fate" is in fact composed of two elements: "domestic" and "imported." The former is particularly based on the postwar experience with the transnationality and internationality of the communist authorities. Perhaps somebody will prove that they were consistent in this, but it is a fact that the leaders of the present parties in Bosnia-Hercegovina do not talk about individual nationalities being oppressed, but about all nationalities being deprived. If, for instance, the leader of the Muslim SDA [Stranka Demokratske Akcije—Party of Democratic Action] mentions the smothered national essence of the Bosnians [Bosnjak], he does not fail to mention that nothing better has happened to the Croats and the Serbs either. Representatives of the Serbian SDS [Srpska Demokratska Stranka—Serbian Democratic Party] and the Croat HDZ [Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica—Croatian Democratic Community] use an essentially identical tag when they lament over abolished educational and cultural societies, historical characteristics being erased from the collective memory, and the like.

This is why the Bosnia-Hercegovina variant of the national(ist) anticommunism contains a fairly large degree of mutual tolerance, based above all upon the experience of several centuries of living together at the point of convergence of different nations, religions, and cultures. Cautiously encouraging statements on the possible cooperation of the three largest parties in Bosnia-Hercegovina after the elections and warnings to members and supporters to the effect that "we want to and we will all live in peace," which were pronounced during the past few months by Davor Perinovic (HDZ), Radovan Karadzic (SDS), and Alija Izetbegovic (SDA), have therefore raised the hope that there is a sufficient number of clever people in Bosnia-Hercegovina to enable a peaceful democratic transformation.

Considering that writer Abdulah Sidran said not so long ago that Bosnians and Hercegovinians have in their history never quarreled without outside interference, one is not surprised by the Foca events, by the abolishment of the Cyrillic alphabet in the schools in western Hercegovina, or by the replacement of the HDZ leader, and the Serbs from Bosnian Marches long "under training" would not strike as a bolt from the blue. An "ordinary" election race and a peaceful course to the elections will certainly not ensure that either the present or the future Serbian authorities maintain an "interest influence" on the left bank of the Drina (and would not strengthen their position in negotiations about the future Yugoslav setup), and therefore the spreading of fear of an Islamic-Catholic (Khomeinian-Ustasha) conspiracy is only a continuation of the battle with Kosovo-Knin means. As much as it would like to, Serbia is obviously not sufficiently powerful to maintain tension in all hotbeds in Yugoslavia at the same time. The momentary cease-fire in Knin is therefore understandable, in our opinion, because Sandzak and Foca remain "open."

It is less clear what the HDZ "center" wants by replacing the insufficiently militant and too independent Perinovic and why it is "excessively" inciting the Croats on the right bank of the Neretva. On the one hand, with a rift in the party, it has at least partly reduced the HDZ chances in Bosnia-Hercegovina in the November elections (after which a coalition with the expected winner, the SDA, would not be far away) and on the other hand—if it really wants a certain autonomy for or the annexation of western Hercegovina to the mainland—it is risking its reputation at home and abroad. Although speculation about whether Tudjman has sent the moderate Mesic to Belgrade or pushed him out of the way has still not died down, there are now new speculations about possible new concessions to HDZ hawks. In any case, the latest Zagreb moves in Sarajevo may only result in making the SDA more "exclusive" in protecting Bosnia-Hercegovina as the state of the Muslim people. Moreover, the SDA may also join in the haggling about sovereignty, patronage over the diaspora, and historical territories if it demanded Hercegnovi, Sandzak, and a part of the Adriatic coast which used to belong to the medieval Bosnian state.

It is not excluded that a continued aggravation and new excesses in Bosnia-Hercegovina will improve the position of communists and socialists—who otherwise are already clinically dead—and particularly of Markovic's Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia. Perhaps if old parties opt for closer cooperation or even join the reformist alliance (which the socialists have already announced), that may turn the elections into a contest after which the relative winners will have to join a government coalition with the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia. However, none of the national parties are going to like that.

Bosnian LC Begins 'Resolute Offensive' for Votes

AU2509084190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Sep 90 p 10

[E. Demirovic report: "Joint Credit, Individual Mistakes"]

[Text] Sarajevo—The reformed League of Communists [LC] of Bosnia-Hercegovina-SDS (Socialist Democratic Party) is embarking on a resolute offensive for voters and their votes precisely two months before the first free secret multiparty elections are to be held in this republic (18 November). Following the example of many modern parties in the world, a convention (meetings, discussion, and festivities) of members and sympathizers of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina-SDP has been scheduled to be held on the premises of the Skenderija sports hall (a great hall with about 10,000 places, youth hall, and square) which will also mark the beginning of a series of similar meetings throughout the republic. Apart from tens of thousands of supporters, the most prominent former officials of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, guests, and representatives of other parties are also expected to attend. This will be a unique kind of "festival of communists" which will be addressed by Nijaz Durakovic, president of the Central Committee of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and about 15 of this party's nominated candidates for deputies, who include professors, doctors, miners, metal workers, agricultural workers, artists, and young people. Along with the slogan "let us live together," the participants at this meeting will be briefed on this party's aims outlined in its finally adopted election manifesto.

This was announced yesterday at a news conference in the Central Committee of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina-SDP by Dr. Emina Keco, member of the Presidium, who stressed that it has already been announced that participants would be arriving for the meeting in 100 buses. Dr. Meho Basic also briefed journalists on some provisions in the manifesto, which was adopted at the last plenum (14 September) and which contains numerous innovations regarding the version that was adopted earlier. These particularly relate to assessments of the activities of the communists in the postwar period, which stress that it is indisputable that they be given credit for everything that has so far been achieved, but their responsibility for many mistakes is equally as indisputable. As he put it, however, only individuals are to blame for mistakes and not the communist movement or party as a whole.

Dealing with the increasingly frequent attacks on the LC-SDP, which mostly come from nationalist and other parties, Dr. Basic said that "despite this, we do not consider anyone to be an enemy and we are willing to cooperate in the interests of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Yugoslavia and their peoples and nationalities." Bosnia-Hercegovina is a peculiarity in the Yugoslav area and this must be clear to everyone. Several peoples have lived here for centuries. It, therefore, is our attitude that it cannot be inclined toward any party which struggles for dominance in the country, nor can it be a battlefield for parties to try out their political options, ambitions, and aspirations. Therefore, Bosnia-Hercegovina's political interest in Sandzak and Knin should cease, but in the same way interests in Bosnia from outside Bosnia should also cease, he said.

Dr. Basic included in the innovations which the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina-SDP will fight for in its manifesto: the commitment to a return of the capital which was poured off from Bosnia-Hercegovina into other regions in the period of the consensus economy from 1975 to 1990, the return of land to peasants which they were deprived of for various reasons, and the introduction of an ecological dinar in the economy.

Adil Kulenovic, spokesman of the Central Committee of the LC of the Bosnia-Hercegovina-SDP, briefed media representatives on the preelection "difficulties" of the LC, which are mainly being caused by the camps of other parties and which can be perceived in the disruption of meetings, the tearing up of posters, pressures, insults to the most responsible people in this party (particularly Dr. Durakovic), scare-mongering, and open threats to endanger the lives of all those who support the LC.

He also mentioned unprecedented statements by Dr. Raskovic on establishing a regional state in Bosanska Krajina and those by Radovan Karadzic on the stand of the Serbian Democratic Party that it will "defend Bosnia-Hercegovina only as a part of a federal Yugoslavia." He also mentioned the failure to recognize the political identity of Bosnia-Hercegovina in the "Zagreb merry-go-round" about the replacement of Dr. Davor Perinovic. He also recalled statements by the leaders of the Party of Democratic Action in Velika Kladusa saying that they will "fight for Bosnia with arms," which is a declaration of war. We are appealing to all parties for a fair election campaign, although what is being done to us is far from fair. I would not like it if they forced us to reciprocate in the same way, Adil Kulenovic concluded.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Protests to Croat President

LD2109142990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0918 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—An increasing number of events lately—and especially party political gatherings in the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina—are being used for dispatching messages and issuing threats from one republic to another. Top officials in state bodies in Croatia are guilty of this, too. They, moreover, are not informing competent state bodies in Bosnia-Hercegovina about their comings and goings.

In connection with this, the socialist republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency sent a letter to Croat Republic President Franjo Tudjman stating that, by virtue of posts held by state officials guilty of such misconduct—irrespective of whether they came as representatives of a party they belong to—their behavior and especially the content of their speeches are seen as a negation of the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina and its equality within Yugoslavia.

The letter recalls that the Bosnia-Hercegovina state leadership has been drawing attention to these phenomena and has been reacting resolutely to them in the course of talks recently held with delegations of Croatia and other republics. A clear stand about this was adopted and made public in a statement from the joint session of republican state bodies held on 7 September. Despite this, such misconduct has not ended.

By their presence and by championing and presenting many unacceptable stands, or by issuing threats to other republics, representatives of Croat state bodies objectively [words indistinct]. The most glaring example was given by the Croat Presidency vice president, Dalibor Brozovic, who visited Bosnia-Hercegovina several times and took part in and made speeches at several party gatherings without announcing his intentions or informing competent state bodies about them. On these occasions he presented several irritating and utterly unacceptable stands.

We especially stress that Croat Assembly Vice President Vladimir Seks visited Capljina unexpectedly and, what is worse, did so after the statement of top republican and state bodies in Bosnia-Hercegovina condemning comings and goings and activities of state officials from other republics was made public. We had, the letter emphasizes, reacted to similar activities from other republics and clearly condemned paternalistic attitudes toward peoples in Bosnia-Hercegovina and a similar attitude coming from Bosnia-Hercegovina toward peoples in other republics, irrespective of whether it has been championed by members of political parties or by responsible state officials. [passage indistinct]

Such behavior, especially by responsible state officials from Croatia, is at odds with joint stands adopted during talks between delegations of our two republics concerning relations and future cooperation, held in Zagreb on 23 July.

To establish good mutual and equal cooperation, we demand that you undertake all measures so that the attitude and conduct of Croat state officials are harmonized with joint stances and your public speeches regarding the constitutional status and rights of the socialist republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina as an independent, sovereign, and equal republic Yugoslavia. It would be logical and beneficial if you do something about officials of your party.

The letter of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency to Croat Republic President Franjo Tudjman concludes:

We would be glad not to have to undertake steps that would have even more unfavorable consequences on mutual cooperation. It is especially important that this does not happen at this time, when through respect for and deepening of the current democratic processes we must jointly find ways out of the crisis and toward prosperity for our republics and Yugoslavia.

Rightists Cause Rift in Democratic Action Party

LD2109111790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0715 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—The four members of the Democratic Action Party [Stranka Demokratske Akcije—SDA] top leadership held a press conference and accused the party of moving toward the right. This caused a rift within the party. They stated that they do not recognize the authority of the SDA emergency session to be convened next weekend in Tesanj. In a statement to the public, Adil Zulfikarpasic, Muhamed Filipovic, Hamza Mujagic, and Fehim Nametak claim that there are no conditions for convening the session and they will not attend it.

Through an advertisement in OSLOBODJENJE they sent an invitation for talks to all party members and leaders. They are planning to organize a public platform to discuss how to contravene all forms of extremism and political blindness which is leading the party into a political impasse and isolation. The platform will discuss how to organize the party for a modern political election campaign and what the criteria for the election of the party leadership should be so that the leadership reflects the party structure and is adjusted to the political demands of our times.

Letters of support from throughout the republic are being sent to both wings of the party. Furthermore, both are claiming support from the same regions of the republic.

Party Leader on Unexpected Split

LD2309220990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1735 GMT 23 Sep 90

[Text] Tesanj, 23 Sep (TANJUG)—"The split in our party was completely unexpected on the part of sensible people. This is my judgement. The decline in membership as a result of this is extremely minimal. Especially because I believe that the Bosnian Party does not have a great chance. The only thing that could happen in the elections is that confusion might arise among ill-informed people, because the name (of our party) does not contain the word Muslim." This was stated, among other things, at a news conference today by Alija Izetbegovic, chairman of the Democratic Action Party [Stranka Demokratske Akcije—SDA].

The two-day extraordinary assembly of the SDA took place behind closed doors.

Izetbegovic also stressed that "someone needed the destruction of the party. I believe that Adil (Zulfikarpasic) did not do this consciously. I would not say that he acted as an agent of some third power as some people now think." Pointing out that the struggle for power lies behind everything, Izetbegovic referred to the case of

Muhamed Filipovic. According to the leader of the SDA, Adil Zulfikarpasic promised Muhamed Filipovic entry into the SDA Executive Committee.

Today in Tesanj we formed an electoral commission to put forward candidates, and this will set in motion the process of nominating possible candidates, Izetbegovic said. He added "that the real problem lay in the fact that Adil Zulfikarpasic wanted to put the cart before the horse and have his question resolved before we carry out a single normal procedure in the nomination process upon which we have insisted."

Izetbegovic stressed that there are no family clans in the party leadership. Speaking about possible coalitions, Izetbegovic stressed: "Up to the elections there will be no coalitions whatsoever, but afterward we will enter into cooperation. We divide the parties up into two kinds: those which respect the integrity, sovereignty, inviolability, and statehood of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and those which do not. We can cooperate after the elections with all parties which recognize Bosnia-Hercegovina and do not bring its statehood into question. I believe that no one will obtain an absolute majority in the elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Therefore, some kind of coalition will be indispensable.

Macedonian Multiparty Elections Set for 11 Oct

LD2409191490 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1701 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Skoplje, 24 Sep (TANJUG)—The first multiparty elections in fifty years are to be held in the southern Yugoslav republic of Macedonia on November 1 this year, Presidency of the republican Assembly set out on Monday [24 September].

Three days ago the republican Assembly adopted the amendments to the republican Constitution legalizing multi-party and parliamentary system, and abolishing the delegational system and the three-house assembly. Thus, a total of 120 deputies are to be elected for a single-house parliament.

The new deputies would subsequently choose the republican president with a four-year term, instead of the current collective body, the republican Presidency.

The multi-party elections were last spring held in the northern Yugoslav republics, Slovenia and Croatia, and the rightist opposition of highly nationalistic orientation had won. In the central Yugoslav republic, Bosnia-Hercegovina, elections were scheduled for October 18, while in Montenegro and Serbia they are to be held by the end of the year.

Poll Indicates Communists Lead in Macedonia

AU2409084890 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE
in Serbo-Croatian 18 Sep 90 p 2

[D. Joksic report: "Some Know What To Do, Others Hesitate"]

[Excerpt] Skopje, 17 Sep—The first parliamentary multiparty election in Macedonia will most probably start on 11 November. The parties that will be taking part in the race for power are already panicking because they do not know how many supporters, members, and followers they have, or how the electorate is going to vote.

Majority for One President

Because of this confusion, let us not call it fear, political parties have seriously opposed the decision of the Executive Council of Macedonia, which is still not final, according to which the future Macedonian parliament will consist of one chamber and have 120 deputies, the republic will be governed by a five-member Presidency, and there will be a majority election system. The majority of parties, except the MAAK [Movement for All-Macedonian Action] and the People's Party, think that the head of the republic should be a president and that there should be a proportional election system. The motives for this are more than clear: It is better to get at least a slice of the cake of power than remain in the opposition.

The question of who will reach the finishing line with more points is not only being asked by the leaders and the leaderships of the parties, but also by the people who are watching with anxiety and disappointment all the illegal interparty games which create storms and confusion instead of prosperity and a better tomorrow.

The results of a public opinion poll carried out by Skopje VECER are fairly indicative. The paper polled 857 people eligible to vote in seven communes in Macedonia. The poll shows that only 48.2 percent know how they are going to vote at the upcoming elections, 35.9 percent are still thinking, and 15.9 do not intend to vote for any party.

In the Same Basket

Although this poll certainly does not reflect the real attitudes of the people, the information on this rating list is nevertheless interesting. The list is headed by the League of Communists of Macedonia-Party of Democratic Change, with 34.8 percent; second is the Alliance of Reform Forces, with 27.4 percent; third is the Socialist Alliance with 12.7 percent; they are followed by the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] (5.9 percent); VMRO-DPMNE [the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization—Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] (5.6 percent); the Party of Yugoslavs (4.4 percent); the MAAK (2.2 percent); the League for Democracy (1.5 percent); the Social Democratic Party and the Young Democratic Party (1.2 percent each); and the People's Party of Macedonia with only 0.5 percent. [passage omitted]

New Communist Movement Chairman Vesovic Resigns

LD2509134290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1036 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—Academician Radonja Vesovic has resigned as chairman of the new Communist Party Movement of Yugoslavia.

"The rapid development of the movement and the increasingly complex tasks and duties with which I have been faced in this post compel me to realize that this has outstripped my work capability, and primarily my state of health," Vesovic says in a letter which he sent to TANJUG today.

Vesovic stresses that his resignation is "the result of his personal insight" and that "it has no connection whatsoever with news of a disagreement in the leadership of the New Communist Movement of Yugoslavia and the possibility of replacing the chairman, something which, moreover, the general director of the movement, the writer Branko Kitanovic, himself refuted in BORBA," it is said.

Markovic Addresses Businessmen Meeting in Zagreb

LD2109183890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1515 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—Without changing the structure of ownership there can be no change in society. The transformation of social property is the key lever for the further implementation of the reform. Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic stressed this in the course of today's traditional talks with Yugoslav bussinesmen at Zagreb's International Autumn Fair. About 500 businessmen from all over the country took part in these talks dedicated to the subject "Restructuring ownership—work relationships—wages."

FEC member Veselin Vukotic spoke to the businessmen about the FEC's proposals for the transformation of social property while FEC member Bozidar Marendic, federal secretary for development, spoke about the topical issues of implementing current economic and development policies.

The president of the federal government considers the current phase in the implementation of reform successful. Inflation has been curbed, the convertibility of the dinar established; hard currency reserves amount to $10 billion. Prices and imports have stabilized. All of this, in his opinion, is a good precondition to embark on the key reform stage—changing the structure of ownership. And there is no hesitation about this, Markovic stressed. We should privatise social property. Noting that three concepts of transformation are in circulation—the preservation of social ownership, its transformation into state ownership, and privatization, Markovic told the businessmen that they will be able to choose accordingly who their boss will be: the state, politics, or capital. He supports a more resolute privatization so that at least 51 percent will be capital-governed.

Reflecting on certain criticism by businessmen, Markovic stated that the federal government will not give up its concept, including the exchange rate which must be retained, since any change in the exchange rate will spell the beginning of the end of the reforms. There is no retreat either in the sphere of wages and other spending, Markovic said as he stressed that one should insist on complying strictly with the law on wages. [passage omitted]

Notes Success of Reform Program

LD2109214890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1815 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Zagreb, 21 Sept (TANJUG)—At his news conference tonight, FEC President Ante Markovic stressed that today's talks with Yugoslav businessmen demonstrated clearly enough that we are on the right path and that we should insist on it. The Zagreb Fair, Markovic maintained, is an expression of our openness to the world and testifies to the potential of our economiy and society to succeed.

Stressing that the reform has now encompassed all spheres of life, Markovic warned that resistance is emerging to these changes and that it is particularly intense in the political sphere where the politically conservative forces were trying to preserve old ways. This is why we have decided, Markovic said, to take a direct part in political confrontations. We base this orientation upon the trust citizens have displayed in our program following the successfull results achieved, Markovic reiterated.

Pointing to the FEC's firm stance that there should be no retreat from the program, Markovic also stressed its comittment to resolve all issues in a democratic way, and this is, as opposed to some others, where our strength resides, Markovic said. In the fact that we know what we are fighting for. After all, Markovic stressed, our Yugoslav program would probably never have so much suport abroad. Messages are being sent to us that foreigners are willing to talk about this program wilth its creators. He also noted that problems still exist in some parts of the country as far as human rights are considered, adding that a considerable part of the constitutional amendments relate specifically to human rights.

Asked about when the dinar will gain external convertibility, Markovic said that today it has already been virtually achieved so only its formal recognition is yet to come. Noting that successful talks are underway with the IMF, Markovic said that there is no reason for this not to happen in the near future.

BORBA To Cease Publication; Financial Problems

LD2309145190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1240 GMT 23 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Sep (TANJUG)—For the first time since the war the Yugoslav daily BORBA will not appear at kiosks tomorrow. The reason for its failure, the BORBA head office announces, is by and large of a financial nature. Following the outstanding debts owed to the social enterprise "Stamparija BORBA" [BORBA printing plant] this enterprises's management decided, in agreement with its self-managing organs, not to cease publication of the flagship newspaper of the BORBA News, Publishing and Printing Work Organization—until the outstanding debts were settled in specified installments.

The newly-established BORBA News and Publishing Enterprise, based on the BORBA newspaper, is for the time being unable to repay these debts unless some external aid is provided, primarily by its new founder, the SFRY Assembly—that is, the Federal Executive Council, which took over these competences. Although the new founder took over the newspaper six months ago, the contract on mutual rights and obligations has not been signed yet.

We ask our readers and the public to take account of the reasons and circumstances surrounding this forced precedent.

At the press conference scheduled for 1000 GMT on 24 September in the BORBA office, the newspaper's management will provide a detailed report on the current position of the newspapers and the reasons for its failure.

Government Provides Support

LD2409150290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1434 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text) Belgrade, 24 Sep (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government on Monday [24 September] provided the Belgrade daily BORBA with three million dinars (seven dinars sell for one West German mark). The paper's editor-in-chief Manojlo Vukotic expressed hope that the paper's circulation would be restored after today's discontinuation.

For the first time in its post-war period, BORBA did not appear on news stands on Monday as a result of unsettled printing debts, which Vukotic put to some ten million dinars.

Vukotic also said that BORBA would ask its founder, the Federal Assembly, to clearly declare itself whether it would financially support the paper and to what amount.

Paper's Return Uncertain

LD2409203490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1702 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Summary] Belgrade, 24 Sep (TANJUG)—Slobodan Stanic, the chief editor at BORBA has told TANJUG that the paper owes 10 million dinars to the printers and, despite 3 million dinars of assistance from the Federal Executive Council [FEC], the paper will not be appearing tomorrow, either.

TANJUG has learned that representatives of BORBA were received this afternoon by FEC President Ante Markovic. The outcome of the talks is still not known.

Pretis Workers Strike Over Remaining Iraqi Debt

LD2409174290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1501 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 24 Sep (TANJUG)—About 5,500 workers of Sarajevo's Pretis, which operates as part of the UNIS [expansion unknown] composite work organization, went on strike today because of their difficult material situation and unsatisfactory internal relations in the collective.

The Pretis workers have threatened to leave UNIS unless controversial questions, including compensation for their outstanding debts owed by Iraq, are not resolved.

A strike is heralded for tomorrow too, while a delegation of Pretis workers has left for Belgrade where it will have talks with representatives of the Federal Executive Council.

General Staff Chief Meets Hungarian Counterpart

LD2309121790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0842 GMT 23 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Sep (TANJUG)—Colonel General Blagoje Adzic, the chief of General Staff of the SFRY Armed Forces, met Laszlo Borsits, the chief of the General Staff of the Hungarian People's Army, in Szegedin yesterday.

As announced, the meeting and talks between the chiefs of General Staff of the two neighboring and friendly countries' armed forces were conducted in a working atmosphere. It was stated that inter-army cooperation was carried out successfully and that there are good possibilities of its further advancement in the spirit of good-neighborly relations.